



TORTURE RULE UNPRECEDENTED

Letters
from
South Korea



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by T.K.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

This book contains some of the "Letters from South Korea" carried in the Japanese politico-theoretical magazine *Sekai* (September 1976-July 1977).

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OSTRACIZED TRUTH

Kim Dae Jung's Statement

One foreign friend who is well informed of the situation of this country left me very impressive words when he took leave of south Korea after winding up his visit to it.

"The most noticeable change which has taken place since my previous visit," he said, "is that this openhearted nation has become rather taciturn. The oppressive silence nearly kept me from sharing warm friendly feelings with them. A missionary who had observed the local court trial of a pastor told me: 'Two separate buses ran for more than three hours, but their passengers—the priests who were going to observe the trial—did not talk with each other almost all the while. Their talk, if made, would run on politics and the day's trial of the pastor who was accused of having offered criticism of the power's side in his sermon. There was no knowing that a tapping apparatus might be installed in the buses.' Gagged so long, the south Korean people would fall ill, I fear."

When the buses reached the destination, a local town court, the hearing had already been over and the pastor, the so-called defendant, sentenced to imprisonment for seven and a half years. The court had opened 30 minutes earlier than the scheduled

time. What is worse, the drivers of the two buses are said to have been intimidated and bribed into delaying the arrival of their vehicles. While human rights are trodden underfoot, there is no one to talk to, nowhere to appeal to. Cases of political death, imprisonment and torture are left unknown. Should anyone dare to talk about these, he would be subjected to persecution.

The same may be said of those who stand by the afflicted people. No help could be offered even to the expelled colleagues. One who makes such a venture might meet with his own expulsion. This is certainly a degraded society in which everyone lives only for self-preservation in the midst of instinctive fear. Miserable is also the life of once-imprisoned students. According to the report on the present situation of over 100 people which was barely prepared by a friend, more than half of them suffer from extreme poverty and malnutrition, and one of them, a youth, has been seized with liver trouble and his life is now in a serious danger. They are all under police surveillance according to the "Social Security Law." The number of those bound by this law would reach 100,000-300,000. Since everything is kept in the dark, it is impossible to have a thorough grasp of who is where and how he is dealt with. It is estimated that the number of people who have been arrested unreasonably under that law and whose whereabouts are uncertain will run into at least several hundreds. No faint groan is audible at all from these obscure people under physical torture. Those who are accused of violation of the same law, including Catholic Bishop Chi Hak Sun, are all subject to the following repressive measures:

1. *Probation.* They are not only placed under constant police surveillance but also forced to appear

before the police once every three months and report on what they did, whom they met and where they traveled in the intervals.

2. *Residential restrictions.* They are prohibited from residing and traveling outside the area limited by the police.

3. *Superintendence for security.* They are taken to concentration camps. At present, they are detained in prisons for reason of incompleteness of the camp buildings. Expansion of prisons and construction of compulsory camps are under way, I hear. "Those who are much liable to commit crimes" are taken into the camps without warrants. The term is two years, but can be extended at any time. This is as much as "life imprisonment without definite criminal acts and court proceedings."

These terrorist acts committed in the name of the "law" were started from July, 1975. Noted persons are not put into custody under this "law." The show of a "fair trial" in regard to the present case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation might be designed to cover up such countless brutal acts. One senior friend who is greatly apprehensive of the "law" told me:

"This open terrorism by power was started under Emergency Decree No. 9 immediately after the interview between Pak Jung Hi and Kim Yong Sam which took place when a fear complex prevailed following the Indochinese incident. The Opposition raised a single dissenting voice, only to prove its impotence. In November last, Seoul University students issued a statement denouncing the evil law as one aimed at equating the democratic and patriotic personages with the Jews under reign of Hitler. Bishop Chi Hak Sun proposed a joint struggle to the opposition New

Democratic Party with a view to making the law rescinded, but received no response. Is there no way of arousing world public opinion on the question? It is hoped that Amnesty International will make investigation and bring out the question."

Can our appealing abroad for breaking silence under such circumstances be branded as being flunkeyist? When the fascists are permitted to have international solidarity among them, why then is the weak resistance force not allowed to have it? The fascists want to lord it over the people of this country as they please by severing their international relationship.

Everything goes this way. The dictator said he was sick of seeing so many unsuccessful examinees desirous of reexamination. So, the Ministry of Education made public a "Tentative Policy for the Control of Reexaminees" providing for the reduction of the number of marks of those who enter an examination for the third time and for the disqualification of those who try for the fourth time. Such is often the case with this country when a dictator reigns.

In order to sustain power, the dictator dyes the whole land with a political color of anti-communism. Take as an example, *Tonga Ilbo*. These days it has carried three serials in succession, probably because of impossibility of putting in news comments on home politics. The author of one serial entitled "That Time, That Event" was a man who is said to have dipped the history of immediate post-liberation days into blood while serving as an anti-communist public procurator and to be now secretly working for the KCIA. Of late he has been practising law and often undertakes to plead for the "spy group case in which Koreans in Japan are implicated" and the like. So I hear. His relations with the KCIA might be thought helpful to his clients. But it is said that his pleading

always ends in wastefulness and failure. Another serial appeared before and after June 25 under the title "Scars Still Remain." This is followed by the serial headlined "Red Plot" designed to expose the "camouflaged peace tactics" on the eve of the Korean war. It is said there will be still another one captioned "Panmunjom" which will relate the post-armistice offensive of the north. It is rather an anti-communist propaganda medium than a newspaper, I should say. And, I wonder how they can manage to appeal to the north for "peaceful coexistence."

Division of this country into north and south and severance of their contacts are intolerable in view of both its history and reality, and it is a wonder that it is well tolerated. How long will this open hostile confrontation last? Only one thing is clear—the Pak regime thinks it impossible to prolong its existence without that. In one of the previous letters I referred to the circulation of reprehensible literature titled "South Korean Christianity and Communism." It is a pamphlet telling a made-up story about the infiltration of international communism into the world churches, Japanese churches and south Korean churches. It continues to arouse unabated public discussion these days.

Its contents being full of falsity, the Christian side demanded the suspension of its distribution. I am told it was published by the bogus organization called the South Korean Institution for the Study of Religious Problems. How under the emergency decrees can such an organization exist and issue a publication to be distributed by the government? As it was accused of plotting to disrupt the south Korean churches, the government side could not but promise to stop distributing the book. But the distribution continued quietly throughout the country. The government even used it as a material for education in

the New Village scheme. And this time Rev. Pak Hyong Gyu who was engaging in mission work in the slums and ten others were arrested to be put up as an evidence of the infiltration of international communism into the south Korean churches.

Radio Christian, applying the very guerrilla tactic, released the news that its plotter and mastermind is the present chairman of the Council of Unification who claims to be a Christian. At an interview granted to newsmen he reportedly said that because of its excellent contents the pamphlet was used for security education and is now distributed all over the country. This shows a scheme is well under way to completely put down the resistance from within the churches by shifting all the blame on to "communism." Under the circumstances where even the church ministers are accused of being the "operatives of a communist organization," it would be quite an easy job to forge the home-visiting Korean residents in Japan into Communists.

The south Korean churches are now showing a strong reaction against such a plot on the part of power. The South Korean National Council of Churches and the churches of major denominations issued a joint statement, showing a bold front. The statement demanded the disclosure of the source of the bogus book "South Korean Christianity and Communism" and the exposure of the persons involved. Referring to the arrest of the slum missionaries following the distribution of the book and to the attempt being made to brand them as ones related to communism, it protested:

"These related persons are engaged in mission work to build a brighter society while sharing hardships with the unhappy people. Notwithstanding this, an attempt is being made to label them as Commu-

nists. This is certainly a mistaken judgment. The authorities, therefore, should consider this problem seriously so that it may not cause unnecessary discord in the future in the relations between the government and the churches."

This problem seems to become very acute in the future. The eleven missionaries whose arrest started on May 25 are now in jail. They have reportedly come under suspicion due to the handbills praising the north which were found pasted near the Sodae-mun Gate, but this is a mere pretext. It seems these slum missionaries are thought to have worked behind the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation and others. Hence the horrible crackdown on little known personages behind the stage show of the public trial of the March First Declaration case in fear of world public opinion. At home there is no news report at all even on the trial of Kim Ji Ha. Strangely enough, only a brief account is given of the trial of the March First Declaration case. All this undoubtedly is a link in the whole chain of a certain plot.

Now I would like to report on the recent trial of the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. The families of the defendants are fighting in protest against the court's continuous failure to open the trial to public while limiting the number of admission tickets and against the prevention of lawyers from their free meeting with the so-called "defendants." As for the June 19 trial, I will report, as my memory runs, on the answers of Kim Dae Jung to the defence counsel's cross-examination. Kim's answers were perfectly logical, buttressed with exact figures and clear facts.

Counsel: You must have failed to answer some ques-

tions during the prosecutor's hearing, I believe.

Kim: I cannot admit this prosecution. It is instituted by dint of the Revitalization Constitution and emergency decrees which can hardly be recognized as law in a democratic country. The constitutional revision in 1972 is something like that made by Hitler in Austria. There could not be an eye and no in a state of siege. A proof of it is the high percentage of the vote. The Revitalization Constitution is allegedly for the sake of unification and security, but it is strange to assert that the former Constitution is unfit for the purpose. The reason for Revitalization lies elsewhere. Under the former Constitution we were free and religions were respected. It is for liberty that we are in south Korea. World people fought against Hitler for freedom. The government of this country urges us to put up with dictatorship "for the sake of liberty." Meanwhile, a handful of people in possession of economic power are amassing a huge sum of money to squander. Under these circumstances, what will become of the people?

Counsel: Any opinion about the national unity?

Kim: It is liberty that defends the country. Making the country powerful can be compared with the case of a family. Father should not exert a coercion on it but lead it by persuasion. The government should not expect 100 percent support. It should give heed to the voice of opposition. On these grounds, I cannot support the present system.

Counsel: According to the indictment, you have opposed the government to an extreme.

Kim: I am a politician. It is natural for me to take positive action for seizure of power. Mine is a different case with the pastors and fathers pre-

sent here. As a matter of course, I am positively opposed to the government, for I am concerned about the present situation of this country. I never think that democracy is powerless and inefficient. What is left with us at present is corruption and dictatorship. This will lead to surrender to communism. Dictatorship and corruption will eventually entail such consequences, as in the cases with Vietnam and Cambodia.

Counsel: You are prosecuted for conducting organized activities to overthrow the government.

Kim: As matters stand now, the contents of the declaration are not printed even in the south Korean newspapers. The allegation of the attempted overthrow of the government and so on shows, therefore, that the government intends to fabricate a case by bringing in a groundless indictment.

Counsel: You are charged with plotting a popular uprising of April 19 style.

Kim: We just spoke of what we thought important. Pak Jung Hi said the Constitution should be respected. He also pledged himself not to run for the presidential election for the third term. However, he went back on his words and established the Revitalization system in disregard of the democratic process. I did not form the least intention to raise an uprising like that of April 19, and I think it is impossible. We must speak to the people and the government as well. But the government refuses to talk with us on the pretext of security. As a critical statesman, I would like to compete with the present power on an equitable footing. This the government does not permit. It seems it does not care to pursue changes and development on a square basis. It is afraid of a challenge. Even if Revital-

ization is necessary, it must be maintained by a rightful means. The government should not become the enemy of the people.

Counsel: Do you mean you did not hope for such a thing as the April 19 incident?

Kim: The March 1st Independence Movement was a peaceful and well-ordered one. We wish for such a peace and order. At the time of the April 19 incident, the government's excessive reaction to the people's protest brought about that situation. Of course, we must continue to uphold the spirits of the March 1st and April 19 uprisings. If this is considered an agitation, it is regrettable. I think the government is too much nervous about the recent declaration. We were discouraged, unable to discuss democracy. We wanted to speak conscientiously for the development of democracy. We wanted to vent this feeling of ours on the south Korean people and ask the government to hold a dialogue. Had we any alternative but that? How can we rise in a massive uprising without preparations?

Counsel: It is said the declaration points out that "the people of this country are bound with iron chains of dictatorship." But the indictment says it is a distortion of reality.

Kim: The difference between the former Constitution and the Revitalization Constitution lies in that one recognizes freedom and the other not. The latter gave up the protection of the workers. It has reduced the function of the National Assembly to a mere form and concentrated power on the President. Formerly, the declaration of state of national emergency required the approval of the National Assembly. Now, even if there is no national crisis, the President can issue emergency decrees for all domains,

even for the diplomatic affairs. All that the National Assembly has to do is to give counsel to the President. The judicature is also handicapped due to the Revitalization and emergency decrees. Unrestricted dictatorship has become a system. The President is authorized to order the dissolution of the National Assembly at any time. He has unlimited powers. There is not the slightest possibility of democracy. Take the presidential election as an example. The people have no chance of voting. It is usual with the election that pledges are given to the people. But none of such a thing exists in this country. The Opposition is denied opportunities to take power. Nor can it put up a presidential candidate. The President appoints one-third of the National Assembly members. This means the Opposition can never be the majority party. Granting that the Opposition gets two-thirds of the approval votes from the people, it may not exceed one-third of seats in the National Assembly. And the President can dissolve even this National Assembly at any time. The court is composed of the judges appointed by the President without the approval of the National Assembly. As in the case under Emergency Decree No. 4, a trial can be held in secret whenever necessary. This country is without independence of the judicature responsible for the defence of human rights. The people's sovereignty and democracy have nothing to do with this regime. Hence it is dictatorial.

Counsel: The alleged suppression of freedom is also considered a distortion of reality.

Kim: I am sure freedom is being suppressed. Here let me touch on the freedom of belief. I am not a pastor or a father. But, according to the Bible,

the essence of Christianity is a love for God and one's neighbours. Jesus defended the poor. Our churches have concern about social affairs. They must fight against injustice. This is not politics. It is not designed for seizure of power. It is a love for the poor. A proof of it is the concern shown by the churches at the time of the cancellation of *Tonga Ilbo* advertisements.

Counsel: Is it true that referring to the economy, you stated that "everything is subordinated to Japan?"

Kim: The question is whither the economy of our country is going. Japan is sending the worst pollution industry into our country and working our workers hard on preposterous terms. Trade companies also belong to the Japanese. It is not we that make a profit. We are more and more being brought under the control of Japan, I think.

Counsel: Is it true that the declaration demands that the Pak regime resign from a sense of responsibility?

Kim: The point does not lie in the words. To cope with the present situation, it may not be a wrong demand. Those in power must take the responsibility for the situation. The economy of south Korea is accumulating debts from year to year. What are they going to do? Even inside a company the management is responsible for business failures. This is natural, and there is nothing wrong in it. The government should be grateful of this mild advice of mine.

Counsel: This case is concerned with a matter of phraseology. Have you anything to say about the freedom of speech?

Kim: To defend the right of free discussion is the first step towards democracy. The religionists

must be given special protection. They should not be prevented from speaking. As Rev. Mun Ik Hwan stated here, they speak and act because they are responsible to God. The fault lies precisely with the emergency decrees which accuse this of treason.

In our country the court is now made the sole place to speak the truth. Many churches and universities, too, have long been silent about the truth. How regrettable it is that the truth can be told to less than 200 people present in the courtroom! The admission tickets are issued only to the families of the defendants in the hope of confining the truth in this solitary islet called the court. And the "impartial trial" is put up thus much as a mere window display, while all the other courts are kept in the dark. By making a show of leniency in this trial alone, the government expects it will make the world believe that human rights are being ensured in south Korea.

It appears the government is making haste to conclude the trial around mid-August at the latest. Words are going round that around that time the emergency decrees will be withdrawn even for formality's sake. This is the present the Pak regime is going to offer to the UN General Assembly in this fall and to Ford's victory. But, even now countless atrocities are perpetrated. In a court held in camera Kim Ji Ha continues his battle, making powerful speeches. His argument on the theology of liberation and citation of the Bible make the court stagger. But he scarcely turns his eyes to the spectators and does not wear even a smile, I hear. He must have been tired out. I wonder he lacks physical energy even for that. It is felt that he is in endless solitude, though he fights on spiritually, speaking his faith.

These days there slowly obtains an optimistic view that he will not be sentenced to death. There is no ground for imprudence, however.

July 5, 1976

Incessant Torture

New troubles have been aroused these days by the government party's policy of instituting a "Law against Concurrent Position of National Assembly Members." According to the law, the lawyers and doctors who are elected to the National Assembly should not engage in their original professions. This is aimed at imposing "silence" upon the brave pleading for the political prisoners. The ruling party declared its readiness to railroad the law, but the opposition New Democratic Party decided to oppose it. Then, the lawyers and doctors from the ruling party voluntarily decided to "close their doors." This has placed the eight lawyers from the Opposition in a fix. The ruling party threatens that if they do not suspend business, the National Assembly will define it as a "profit-making business" and levy business tax on the lawyers and doctors all over the country. The lawyers who are the National Assembly members from the New Democratic Party and now defending the accused in the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation are racking their brains as to how to cope with the situation.

Brutal torture is going on in places unseen. On account of his criticism of the government in a sermon a pastor of a church in the suburbs of Seoul was so severely tortured that his tympanum was ruptured and his two legs became helpless. His fingernails were pulled out and gone, I am told. Unfortun-

ately he suffered such a calamity for lack of protest from the whole religious body as he was the pastor of an independent church unaffiliated with a religious association.

Almost nothing transpires of the tortures inflicted. At the July 10 trial, Rev. Yun Ban Ung, now in jail on a charge of involving in the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation, raised his first protest against the KCIA's torture he had suffered as a man of sixty-five.

"I got so soundly beaten that I almost fainted, but was ordered to tell I was not beaten. I disclose the truth here because I thought I should not tell a lie as a pastor."

Rev. Yun is not a man of high repute, but he may be said to be a symbol of the tragic fate of this nation. During Japanese rule he opposed the worshipping at a Shinto shrine and served a prison term for that reason. And now he undergoes sufferings due to the man in power who had been a Japanese army officer and later changed himself to an anti-communist nationalist, that is, due to the uniformed terrorist. What a cynical fate he has! What will this horrible history produce from now on?

A missionary working in the poor quarters distributed copies of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation to members of his church. Wanted by the police, he is in hiding. He is accused of being a spy of the north and made an object of a thorough police search. The poor mistress of the house where the missionary had once lived in lodging was taken in and tortured black and blue. She is charged with hiding a criminal as she took a spy as a paying guest. She has been let off on condition that she will not go to hospital, and is now

lying ill. Still now she is occasionally taken in at night and harassed until the next morning. This is to extort confession from her that he is a Red.

The wife of the missionary is now taking part in the search of her husband under the conduct of the KCIA. She is appealing to her husband to appear and surrender himself to justice. "How can you be a missionary when you are lying low, dreading such a thing as beating? Don't you see the church members are all undergoing sufferings? For God's sake, please surrender yourself to justice, prepared for death. I fear I should go mad." This is the wife's appeal to her husband under the KCIA's suppression. One senior friend who passed me this story gave a sigh, saying: "To the Christian missionaries this is just like the dark period in the closing days of Japanese rule."

Here is another story about the torture and fabrication which have aroused much discussion within the churches these days. From around mid-May handbills praising the north began to appear on the walls near the Sodae-mun Gate. Among them there were ones supporting the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. The police concluded that it was the slum missionaries' doing, and arrested eleven of them in late May. This time the police took the initiative in inventing a case. A rumour spread that the police had pasted those handbills itself to frame up the case. Speculation was rife about the possible fabrication of a large spy group case within the south Korean churches in the near future in order to impose silence on them.

On June 5 Rev. Pak Hyong Gyu and other pastors were arrested. A little later one of them made his escape during examination. He called on an American missionary and asked him to inform the world of the attempted fabrication of a spy group case. Then

he surrendered himself to the police. Words went round that it was the police's trick to tie even foreign missionaries to the case. For the police started examining the missionaries as soon as he surrendered himself to it. With this trick, it appears, the police thinks it has found a pretext for deporting the foreign missionaries sympathizing with the democratization movement.

There was also a wild rumour that the police concluded that those slum missionaries had been receiving funds from Korean residents in Japan. In its effort to produce evidence of their being Red, the police called on even each of their childhood friends. It also visited the church to which the missionary belongs and forced its leaders to testify to the fact that he is a Communist. It intimidated those who refused, saying "You will pay for it." In the meantime, the pamphlet titled "South Korean Christianity and Communism" was distributed all around the country. While this was going on, the policemen were given education in what is written in the booklet titled "Comprehension of South Korean Christianity" which gives explanations as to how international communism has infiltrated into the World Council of Churches and the Japanese churches and how it has made its way deep into south Korea. According to this scenario, the incident of the slum missionaries was only escalated. This was to divide the churches and alienate the masses from them by dealing a staggering blow at them.

But unexpectedly each church put up a powerful resistance against it. They started attacking the KCIA operatives, high-ranking police officers and government elites who, claiming to be Christians, directed the intrigue, as much as to brand them as Judas, the betrayer. They began appealing to world churches through official documents. Thus

the scandal ran against a snag, in spite of the efforts to take advantage of the signs of resurrection of anti-communism in the south Korean churches following the defeat of South Vietnam.

At length, on July 6, the police released the related persons with suspension of indictment. When the church leaders and foreign correspondents began to gather in front of the prison, the police kicked up a row, using such intricate tricks as to send out some of the released from the prison's back gate and some others from the front gate by taxi to cover their traces in no time.

For this period of a little over one month, however, horrible torture was inflicted on those who have been watched by the world churches. The churchmen like pastors had never experienced such a thing before. At present the south Korean churches are lodging a protest against it. When discharged, a missionary looked pale and his face was expressionless like a doll that knows no joy and sorrow.

For more than one month they were dragged to the torture chamber almost every day. They were thrown into underground cells without lighting and interrogated in most of night hours, except one or two for sleep. Interrogators bound them to chairs, placed square bars under their knees and beat them black and blue. They would threaten them with immediate death, but next moment tell them they could forgive them with some three years' imprisonment. They took them in cars, ran them down the streets as if to approach their homes or churches, but changed the course suddenly. Water was poured into their nostrils or pepper powder blown into them. In two weeks the missionaries felt like going mad and came to obey to whatever dictated. They were also told they would get several million *won* if they confessed that their colleagues and senior

leaders were Communists.

Holding the Bible to his breast, some interrogator offered a prayer with affected reverence and then bellowed, "I will kill you, Communist, in the name of God." Then he pressed, "How many times have you been to the north?" The missionaries were said to have cursed even their evangelical profession, as they were driven to the last extremity. Before they were let out, they were forced to make a vow that they would quit their mission work in the slums, refrain from going to the political gatherings and observing the court trials of political prisoners and never to speak about the torture they had undergone. But the traces of torture being so conspicuous to the eyes of the people, it will, I think, cause a serious trouble in the future. The friend who passed me this grim story concluded:

"Even the interrogators are said to have observed, 'Christians are plucky little devils to put up with so severe torture.' What then is the reason for the eventual dismissal of this case which was forged on orders from the highest level? It might be ascribed to the failure to extort confession even by torture, but, more importantly, to the unexpected formation of a united front by the churches. They will send an appeal to the world churches, particularly to American churches. And if this is done, world public opinion will take a turn for the worse, and it will not do good to the United Nations and the American presidential election. Probably this will be the first time for the churches to have had such an effect on the international politics. Anyway, for this reason the US diplomatic circle might have intervened in the affair."

Such is the relation between the Ford Administra-

tion and the Pak regime. On the US power's side, all is well if public opinion is not affected. In case Carter is elected President, what artifice will the Pak regime use to retain the violent power? Maybe, it is now working on measures for that. They have no new political ability to cope with the new situation. They only have a new intrigue to weave. Let me summarize the counsel's cross-examination in the June 26 trial.

Counsel: What motivated you to sign the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation?

Rev. Mun Ik Hwan: The March 1st anniversary is the day which should not be observed without any function. The declaration was the cry for freedom. Both the cry of April 19, 1960 and our cry of today are the cries for freedom. Thirty years have elapsed since the division of the country at the time of liberation. But this is not the time to locate the responsibility for the division. The fatherland must be unified. Never before in the history of our nation has there been a more important period than today. The Revitalization system will weaken our nation; it is as good as a suicide. Instead of obedience, the efforts for unification must be pooled in accordance with the will of the people. The present system, which fails to move in step with the people in this direction, must be replaced. The same is true of the economy.

Counsel: Are you a member of the Galilean Church?

Mun: Yes. The church has as its membership both the supporters of and the opposers to the government policies. Everyone must view the problem solely according to the Bible and prayer. We do need a sort of church like the confession church of Germany under the Nazis. That is

why we opened the Galilean Church. But the government charges us with planning the overthrow of the government. It regards criticism as an anti-government, anti-state act. It thinks that the people have no right at all to demand the replacement of the government. Criticism is regarded as treachery.

Counsel: The reference to dictatorship is charged with distorting the fact.

Mun: It is based on the stark facts. The government asserts that dictatorship is necessary in order not to suffer the same fate with South Vietnam. Is it democracy that led South Vietnam to downfall? There the people were denied a chance to choose democracy except dictatorship. It is said Pak Jung Hi is going for the Sukarno-type guided democracy, but it is a retrogressive democracy, far from being a guided democracy. A book written by the late Chang Jun Ha in denunciation of the dictatorship of the Syngman Rhee regime was published. The present government is confiscating it. Doesn't this mean the Syngman Rhee dictatorship and the present government are alike?

Counsel: The indictment says you spoke of the absence of freedoms of speech and religion, thereby distorting the facts.

Mun: Both the press and the campuses are subject to harsh suppression. I was forbidden to speak at the school chapel. Any church's attempt to speak will invite pressure to bear upon its leaders.

Counsel: What is your opinion on the economic development?

Mun: How is it that Japan has come to dominate us as now? Japan's influence is growing stronger day by day. The economic growth as vaunted by

Hitler and Mussolini was one that crumbled along with the collapse of dictatorship. There should be the exercise of democratic rights in the economic sphere, too. How long do they want to keep the workers waiting? The economy built on loans is like a hollow shell.

Now, I must refer to Ham Sok Hon's statement in court. From that day Ham stood at the bar in hemp clothes, i.e., the Korean mourning dress. He might be intending to console upon the death of democracy. But Ham said he wore it to symbolize the court in the sense of atoning before God for the trampled human rights. From the beginning of hearing, the courtroom was astir due to the judge's intervention. This happened when the defence counsel asked Ham about the "*Ssialuisori*" or the "People's Voice" published by him. The judge ordered the counsel to withdraw his question as it had nothing to do with the case under trial. At length the following questions and answers ensued:

Counsel: Why did you involve yourself in the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation?

Ham: I have no interest in politics. I want to keep myself away from politics as far as possible. I am not a man of courage. I only thought I should speak something. I do not consider what I have done to be a political movement. Criticism should be accepted in an open-minded manner. In this respect, I am always arguing with the KCIA. I think I have the right to speak what I have in mind. Maybe national unity is necessary. But does it necessitate such a thing as the Revitalization system? Is it proper to impose silence upon all the people? Everyone should be allowed to contribute to the country with

what he has. The people should be guided by spirit, not by force.

Counsel: You have demanded the change of the government.

Ham: From the beginning I could not give credit to Pak Jung Hi. He is a man who does not observe even his commitments. He claims to make a clean sweep of corruption, but isn't it only getting worse?

Ham's reply was interrupted several times by the judge's intervention. The public procurator, too, attacked him, saying that it was rather a preaching than pleadings in answer. So, Ham could not but shout: "I don't care how many years I get for penal servitude. I deem it a trifling price if it is for winning democracy." The judge tried hard to give him the least chance of talking and conclude the trial at an earliest possible hour. An unidentified man sitting nearby the bar wrote hurriedly something on a small piece of paper and got a sergeant to pass it through the window, and a note probably bearing some instructions was sent in through the same window and passed to the judge. It might be a directive from the KCIA.

The judge repeatedly stressed the need for the respect of law and the observance of the courtroom order, and the fact that the public procurator was the representative of the state. This rather raised suspicion in the minds of observers. Is it what they mean by law and the law-abiding court of justice? They were stressing law, just submitting to mean one-man dictatorship, but somehow did not realize that they were indulging in brutality for the sake of their lives and positions. I thought they were a timid Eichman. They are the very criminals who call violence the law and are committing a crime by

keeping that law. The imprisoned persons who speak in the court look like men of great spirit. Those who should judge are in the dock, and those who should be judged are on the bench. That is why the judiciary hated to hear the answers of the defendants, regarding them as a preaching. This, however, rather gives a conviction of victory and hope to the observers.

“The Naked King”

The strife within the professed opposition New Democratic Party which broke out under the manipulation of the KCIA is now bogged down in a bottomless mire. Leaving the disunited party behind, its head Kim Yong Sam is said to set out on his journey to Japan. They have no interest in the grievous trial of the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation which is now dragging on in these sweltering summer days. The people have completely turned away their faces from them as the KCIA anticipated. The same splitting operation has been applied to the churches, but it still comes short of success. Maybe, the churches are maintained thanks more to their solidarity with the world churches than to the religious faith.

The KCIA's manoeuvring against Kim Yong Sam dates from his confidential talks with Pak Jung Hi after the announcement of Emergency Decree No. 9 in May last year. According to the informations recently obtained, a similar overture was made to former President Yun Bo Son. Pak Jung Hi proposed an exclusive interview to Yun. So, Yun answered he would not accept the proposal if the interview

excluded the third person recommended by his side. 'This was not responded, I hear. Unity and dialogue count little for the Pak regime. It only hatches plots to smother every and all opposition leaders.

The July 3 trial began with the counsel's further cross-examination of Rev. Mun Dong Hwan. Mun expressed his support to Kim Ji Ha's theological position and refuted the assertion that Kim was a Communist. He argued: God of Christianity is not one who sends us to Heaven; the God we believe in is one who shows mercy on everything in society. These theological arguments of his naturally galled the judge again who went so far as to spit out: "You do not understand that this is a trial." Both the counsel and Rev. Mun did not back down. Rev. Mun declared, "The Pak regime's resignation is our position."

After Rev. Mun's hearing, the chief judge, through his high-handed intervention, allotted no more than an hour to each defendant. He stressed the need to make haste with the trial as it was getting hot from day to day. This provoked a chorus of laughter on the part of the observers. At this, the chief judge yelled, "It's no joke. Stop your laughing." Though speeches were restricted a great deal, there are many things I want to write here. But today I will introduce to you only typical remarks from the statement of each defendant.

Prof. Li U Jong: "I've experienced how the freedom of education has been rubbed out. Everything has been reported to the authorities from the classrooms and the faculty councils. There is no place to talk. Students cannot be relied upon. The Student Defence League is now active and everything is done on orders. What will come of such militarized campuses drowned in the current of distrust?"

Prof. Li Mun Yong: "My impression of Pak Jung Hi is not good. I have a doubt about the legality of the establishment of the Revitalization system. During the 1971 election, Pak Jung Hi got approval votes accounting for slightly over 50 per cent. But at the time of the poll conducted under martial law with reference to the Revitalization Constitution, he is said to have received 90 per cent of vote. This means he polled the maximum vote. What a great change it is! I cannot, in all conscience, accept the figure."

Prof. An Byong Mu: "When drawing up this declaration, we approached it with the greatest sincerity. The Christians are, and will be, concerned about communism and security more than anyone else. At the same time, they will continue to struggle to defend the human rights of the poor and the workers before anyone else and to restore them. The government may not feel like bearing the responsibility, but it should, at least, rectify its error before it is too late."

Rev. Li Hae Dong: "All of you defend me as a pastor too much. Honestly speaking, I could not get along without taking an interest in the social problems within the meaning of the love of Christ. I could not live a lie even in the presence of Emergency Decree No. 9. Should I be let off on the order of you (the chief judge) and become able to preach in the streets, I will tell just what I feel. I will also discuss the social problems. My experience in prison life will make me talk more about freedom. In prison I eat and rest like a rat and dove, but this is by no means freedom. There should be a freedom of living. I have come to see what I should speak on the human rights and freedom when I am outside

again. I will call for the building of a free society.”

I must apologize for this too lengthy letter. It is my desire to convey these great statements heard only inside the courtroom holding some 200 people to as many people outside as possible. I have many other things to report, but today I must confine my letter to the statements made in court. All the court statements made on July 10 are really full of truth to be hardly laid aside. Let me conclude today's letter with a rather detailed account of the great politico-theological statement of Prof. So Nam Dong who was expelled from Yonse University. His statement, made as a professor expelled from the campus, deprived of his disciples and separated from his family in distress, was a theological lecture before the judge and procurators who remained “deaf.” He might be desirous of his statement reaching the friends far away, if not the people at home. At the time of this trial, too, the families of the defendants were reportedly embroidering the words “Pray for the Restoration of Democracy” in purple at the Building of Christianity in protest against the trial held in camera.

The hearing was forced to proceed until past 8 p.m. with a view to finishing the proceedings as far as the counsel's cross-examination of five fathers in that single day. For all that, the hearing of Fr. Sin Hyon Bong was passed on to the next sitting. In the afternoon, those defendants without restraint were permitted to go back home. Kim Dae Jung, too, left the courtroom, unable to put up with his physical pain. Even the windows were half closed for the reason that the shutters creaked in the wind. The courtroom was just like a sweating bath. The hearing of Prof. So Nam Dong took place in the morning.

Counsel: You have been purged from the Hanguk Theological Seminary. What is the reason?

So: I have been purged from Yonse University, not the Hanguk Theological Seminary. It seems that it is so written in the indictment. The prosecution is distorting facts. That is why I cannot place confidence in it. I don't know the reason of my expulsion. Presumably, it is because I, together with forty other professors, held prayer meetings on four or so occasions in 1974 when professors and students were arrested on charge of involvement in the case of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students. Is that not natural for a professor of the theological faculty? The president of the university told me to tender my resignation. I asked him the reason, but he said he, too, did not know. He added that he was quite helpless because it was an instruction from the Education Ministry. If the president does not bear the responsibility for education and personal administration, who then should assume it? I am a victim of such irrationality.

Counsel: You are accused of signing the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation.

So: I signed it directly as I was told it demanded the restoration of democracy. The freedoms of the press, religion and research are required above all. I have been removed from school and forbidden even to publish a thesis. Nor was I allowed to speak at the church. I once went to a church where twenty students were gathered. The church was besieged by over 100 policemen. Due to the pressure on the church, I could not speak there, too. As for me, an individual, such suppression of freedom is now a problem affecting life and death. It is the same

on the state level. The downfall of the government of South Vietnam was due to its failure to root itself among the people and receive support from them. The dictatorship that does not enjoy the popular support will fall limply in the event of confrontation with the north. No amount of American weapons will help it.

Counsel: You are indicted on charge of having tried to take state power.

So: I want to ask the judge. Is it a crime in a democratic country to have an intention to seize political power? Don't the people have the right to demand the change of the government? Why is it guilty to have such an intention? Nevertheless, we had not even that intention, because we are not politicians. What we wanted to say was that the people should have their rights again and fight for that purpose. The government would not give them back without fighting, so I thought I myself should fight.

Counsel: What relation do you have with people in the slums?

So: They are poor, but that is not because they are idle. It is due to improper policies. Without fighting to change these policies, they will not be better off. The government is not inclined to change them. Does the public procurator equate this view of ours with an attempt to overthrow the government? The government of our country has changed the Constitution several times in hopes of retaining power. It is so much attached to power that it views everything in its own way.

Counsel: Are you related to the Galilean Church?

So: Yes. The church is concerned with the situation in south Korea, and that's the truth. It prays

to God for the redressing of social evils. I would like to ask the judge. There are opposition parties in many countries. Are they the anti-government organizations? Criticism is not anti-government. When the government hates the people, who would advocate democracy and strive to remedy corruption? What on earth is the object of the government of this country? Last year, the KCIA had a try at dialogue with the church leaders. At that time, it said the theology of liberation was dangerous. Better not to say such a thing. It is mistaken. World theology of today is going in this direction. As far as I know, even the Pope issues his message along this line. These days he is more concerned about social structure and social events than the relief of individuals. Social evils should be removed and social structures be altered. Without this, individuals cannot be rescued. This theology is not designed to overthrow the government of our country. It represents the tendency of world theology which has its root in the Bible. The popular masses are the principal subject of history. Both the World Council of Churches and the Vatican are about to turn in this direction. When we speak of liberation, we mean salvation, which is the central idea of the Gospel. By liberation, we do not mean the overthrow of the government.

Counsel: You are charged with having exerted bad influence on foreign public opinion.

So: As to foreign public opinion, it is beyond the reach of my power. I think it is the government that has aggravated public opinion abroad owing to its failure to keep balance.

Counsel: In the written indictment there is the phrase: "to light a signal-fire in Asia." What

does this mean?

So: That is a rhetorical expression. The assertion that we have attempted at a popular uprising does not stand to reason. All the signers, except Kim Dae Jung of Catholic, are Protestants. If we had a slight idea of organizing an uprising, we should have chosen a Protestant church where we certainly have influence more than in the Catholic church. It is of historical significance for the Protestants to have jointly offered a prayer at the Catholic church. We have no plan whatsoever for popular uprising. On the contrary, the creation of an atmosphere of fear by the ruler would lead to such an uprising. The masses of the people will rise up in revolt when they can endure no longer. The government must hold the balance. Why is our government so much nervous about a popular uprising?

Counsel: It is written in the indictment that you have distorted facts also regarding the economic situation.

So: Don't the statistics released by the government tell it? The countryside is devastated. The government is bringing in from Japan outdated facilities and the pollution industry whose further maintenance is found difficult there. This will also affect the progress of technique. This is deplorable.

Counsel: Anything to say about the emergency decrees and the Revitalization Constitution?

So: The emergency decrees must be rescinded. The Revitalization Constitution must be replaced with the democratic Constitution.

Counsel: What is the objective of the declaration?

So: It is nothing more than an exercise of the right which the people as democratic citizens can demand from the government.

Counsel: Did you attend the Catholic meeting in Wonju in January this year?

So: I did as I was invited. I wanted to speak about Kim Ji Ha. Hearing that many foreign theologians were making a study of him and conducting lectures on him, I felt ashamed of my ignorance. I, too, began to make a study of Kim Ji Ha after I had had such a feeling at a meeting of the World Council of Churches. Particularly impressive was the "Six-Chambered Revolver" in the "Groundless Rumours." I wanted to learn more about Kim Ji Ha in Wonju. The "Six-Chambered Revolver" deals with the battle between the dictatorship and Christianity, not the struggle between democracy and communism. Kim Ji Ha is not a Communist but a Christian. In particular, his "Declaration of Conscience" tells he is a sincere Catholic. I was told that in prison Kim Ji Ha was not allowed to read even the Bible. So I signed the statement made at the mass in Wonju.

Counsel: Does the Christian religion have the doctrine of struggle for civil rights?

So: The whole of the Old Testament and all the prophets advocate the defence of the maltreated people and those who are deprived of rights. According to the New Testament, Jesus, too, cried and fought for their rights. I think other religions have the same concern.

Counsel: What is your general impression?

So: My personal history is distorted in the indictment. Facts are also distorted about the Galilean Church, and everything is exaggerated. I want to ask the judge. Does Emergency Decree No. 9 have a legal ground? I have not studied law. I did not know even the title of the book "A Compendium of Laws" before. I have recently

studied it in prison. In it I could not find any legal grounds for emergency decrees. However, the judiciary considers the emergency decrees to be great, fundamental laws. Anderson's tale comes to my mind. The king wears invisible clothes as he thinks them the best. He says his clothes are invisible to the eyes of the wicked. Children realize that the king is naked and laugh at him in scorn. For they have pure and simple hearts. Aren't the emergency decrees something like that?

This provoked laughter of all, except the judge and prosecutors. But it was a tear-wringing laughter.

Rev. So spoke in a calm, persuasive tone. He must have forgotten that he was in court and lost in the illusion that he had returned to his old theological classroom. The courtroom, I dare say, is the place, the sole islet, where the ostracized truth is incessantly told in the midst of terror. While Rev. So was speaking, an atmosphere of solemnity pervaded the courtroom. Fortunately, I think, conscience is still breathing faintly in south Korea.

July 15, 1976

ENDLESS RESISTANCE

Cynical Trials

“History shows the corrupt power rulers who had pursued personal comfort alone, wielding despotism, took flight before anyone else when the country was at stake, while the ordinary people defending it at the risk of their lives.”

This is what poet Kim Ji Ha stated before the court. He earned this conception from our history in which no leaders had ever assumed a heavy responsibility at the time of a national crisis and led the people by force of their personal examples for the sake of the nation. The same may be said of the Korean war as the recent case which broke out in 1950. And there is still no chance of remedying this history in view of the way the Pak regime has done so far. Everyone witnesses such posture of the power elites and speaks of it under his breath.

South Koreans feel a terrible scorn for the Pak regime. July 17 was the Constitution Day. In his “congratulatory address” to the ceremony marking the occasion, Pak Jung Hi declared, “The democratic constitutional government has been embodied into a concrete form for the first time through the revitalized constitutional government.” Pak means his dictatorship has now accomplished democracy for which the south Korean people have waged a struggle ever since the late 19th century. Just as the Nazis claimed their fascism to be the perfect form

of socialism, Pak Jung Hi insists that south Korea has accomplished democracy thanks to his one-man dictatorship. If he is given more time, he, riding on the waves of the times, will surely declare his dictatorship has accomplished socialism too. Having stilled every voice of democracy, he styles himself to be the representative of it. This only deepens the people's feeling of bitter contempt for the Pak regime.

Even under this regime teachers and students in south Korea respected each other, their hearts beating as one. So at the time of the April 19, 1960 revolution teachers came out to the streets in response to the insurgent students. It was also so when the south Korea-Japan talks were held around 1965. But, this beautiful tradition is dying away under the rule of the dictatorial power. Teachers advocate the regime and play false with truth to prolong their lives, and in the worst cases they degrade into sneaks who seek wealth and pomp. What happened during the trial of Kim Ji Ha may afford a typical example of it.

On July 20, Sin Sang Cho appeared in court as a witness for the prosecutorial hearing of Kim Ji Ha. He has a career as a professor and editorial writer. He had once enjoyed the great confidence of young people for his articles, lectures and discourses critical of the Pak regime. But this spring he became a member of the Revitalization Political Council, that is, a National Assemblyman appointed by the President. Now, many intellectuals pine for membership in this council. Having no constituency, its members need not trouble themselves to spend money in winning electorate's favour. On top of it, they receive the largest salary of over one million *won* a month and can idle more than half a year away during the recess of the National Assembly.

And they have influence due to their position and can draw an extra income. There are mounting voices reproaching the servile intellectuals who seek after that position. This time there is a rumour about Sin Sang Cho's testimony. Let me recollect in brief what happened in court that day.

Prosecutor: What do you think of the defendant's "Stake" (Kim Ji Ha's memoed script)?

Sin: I think it leans toward communistic ideas.

Kim Ji Ha: I read your biography of "Lenin" with interest. In the preface that book asked the readers to deliver their opinion after reading it through. You asked them to read it through, that is, to understand that the book is not in sympathy with communism. Yet, you now dare to bring so terrible a judgement to other's memo which can hardly be called a literary piece or a book but is a mere note of fragmentary thoughts.

Prosecutor: What is your opinion about poem "Five Bandits?"

Sin: I think it helps deepen class antagonism and whips up revolution.

Kim: Sir, when I produced that work you invited me and even stood me drinks, didn't you? And you as a fellow Catholic thanked me for having stirred your heart with that work. But the world has changed. I read your books and listened to your lectures and speeches with all my ears. I never thought you would become such a person as seen today. Nevertheless, I do not reproach you. The reality of south Korea has produced such a situation, and this is the tragedy of the nation. Well, you are a member of the Revitalization National Assembly after all.

It is said Sin sweated all over and stammered. Counsel's questions to him were also full of derision. Asked what he was, Sin replied he was an assemblyman. "What party then are you from?" Sin's answer to this question was "the Revitalization Political Council." At this the counsel is said to have asked no more, but said cynically, "Now I get you. There's no need to ask you further."

As Kim Ji Ha said, should we lay the whole blame on this cynical age? We are in a perfidious climate. Such phony intellectuals are siding with the ruling elite. But, their minds are always heavy at the thought what would become of them if power changes hands. From among those parliamentarians come a loud cry for nationalism at times. They even prattle: "Kim Dae Jung appealed abroad. What an antinational creature he is. He must apologize to the south Korean people." It is indeed a "bold remark." When the power elite of this country is keeping a tie with the world power through the agency of the world anticommunist mongers, those thugs paint an appeal of powerless, honest-minded people to the same powerless, honest-minded intellectuals of foreign countries as a move against the nation. Infuriated, one friend said to me:

"The Western democracy is immoral by nature. Democracy was once advocated, but it was imperialism in essence. It remains the same now. Those democratic countries are overriding us for their own interests when we are crying so much for democracy. But, at times they assume an air of humanitarian, saying, "It's a matter of sincere regret." This very hypocrisy is the apex of abominable immorality."

People continue resistance as ever, though occasionally yielding to despair. There is no shadow

of defeat on the faces of those standing at the bar for their March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. Even in the midst of the prevailing sufferings, the courtroom is overbrimming with the conviction of victory. At times, the defendants' spirit is so high one may fear they should have fallen into the illusions of victory.

On July 31, Li Tae Yong, the first woman lawyer in south Korea, pressed in a womanly, gentle tone: Why is it a crime to claim for the abolition of the emergency measures? An emergency measure may be likened to the first-aid treatment of a serious case. If it is applied long, it rather injures his body. Li pressed on in the same tone: Does the "unity" under such suppression signify that the people are in one? Doesn't deep distrust underlie it? Pastors' work in the slum quarters is the very way to prevent the division of the people into the rich and the poor. At present, both security and unity serve as an alibi for maintaining power. Human rights are violated under those slogans. Without democracy there can be none of true security and unity. Li finally asked the following questions amid the applause of the observers:

Where do you know the country derives its strength from? It does not come from law or system but mainly from the people. Nevertheless, all the people of this country have been deformed today. What can we expect in this situation?

On July 24, Kim Dae Jung applied to the court for the attendance of Pak Jung Hi as witness, and this terribly enraged the public prosecutor. "What right," Kim pressed, "do you have to refuse the application for a witness?" But, three pastors were recognized as prosecution witnesses and the counsel's motion for

the presence of Pak Jung Hi and Kim Ji Ha turned down extempore. And the motion for the attendance of 12 other witnesses was pigeonholed. These witnesses engage in different walks of life, taking interest in the freedom of religion, speech and campus, the problem of the economy, the problem of labour, foreign policy and the like.

That day, too, Rev. Mun Ik Hwan stuck to his guns in court.

Counsel: Your declaration said that the March 1st spirit is likely to be buried under the ground. What does it really mean?

Mun: Our forerunners devoted to the cause of national salvation braved sacrifice for achieving independence. But the present regime denies it and forbids and represses our people's efforts for independence and freedom.

Counsel: The declaration is accused of having distorted the truth by alleging that our country is isolated internationally.

Mun: In 1948 our country was recognized by the UN whereas the north was not. Today, however, things are going to change adversely. Thus, Pak Jung Hi schemed to give up the discussion of the Korean question in the UN, and the US side reportedly persuaded him not to do so. Is it not true that our country is isolated in the UN and that it is losing even the support of friendly nations?

Counsel: The declaration is said to have distorted the fact by mentioning dictatorship.

Mun: The Constitution itself testifies, doesn't it? One-third of the National Assemblymen are picked out by the President. They ought to speak for the President, not for the people.

Counsel: The declaration requested the government

to leave office since it had committed a blunder in its economic policy.

Mun: One must resign if he fails to remedy his error while knowing it. Because a new government alone can follow a new policy. We, however, did not force the retirement. We only mentioned of it as a solution, and it is up to the government to accept this advice or not.

On July 31, the court sat short only in the morning. The three pastors, prosecution witnesses, deposed like defence witnesses. They said, "The trouble is that KCIA members attend church services." When the prosecutor denied it, the witnesses countered him by asking if the present case was not filed in the court due to those KCIA agents who had slipped into the place of the March 1st commemoration service and reported it.

This adjourned the court for half an hour. When it was reopened at 12:30, the presiding judge declared in anger the close of the examination of witnesses. The observers lodged a protest with him but, at the same time, could not but feel a rush of pity on him who must have been snubbed during that half-an-hour recess.

Five staff members of the south Korean embassy in the United States refused repatriation, and this news spread at home too. So, it was discussed in the Blue House that those going out to the United States or Europe on diplomatic missions should be ones who keep large property or hostages at home, I hear. The south Korean ambassador to the US was summoned and called to account. Asked about his opinion concerning the policy toward America, he said it seemed necessary to abolish the emergency measures above all. This badly hurt Pak Jung Hi's feelings, I am told. Unlike a rumour flying about, Pak

Jung Hi seems to have become ever more audacious.
For this reason, a poet might have sung this:

*Oh, Mt. Paekundae,
Thou overlook the whole land,
But no bird is heard chirping
On thy soaring summit.*

One ought to descend the summit after scaling it. This poem tells of a "downhill path." Many south Koreans must know its meaning. On the summit of a mountain everything belongs to its occupier. But it is not a human world. Looking up to the summit, the unarmed, impotent poet is shouting to that occupier to return to the human world. Nay, it is a heave of sigh rather than a shout.

August 2, 1976

Result of Prosecution

It appears that the August 15 of this year passed in obscurity due to the dire news of the water calamity. The number of the dead and missing is 66 and that of flood victims 3,800. The amount of property damage totals 3.6 billion *won*. Somehow, this hard life seems to bring it with a spell of disasters.

At a Cabinet meeting Pak Jung Hi reportedly instructed the attendants to be bold especially in foreign affairs according to their "faith" without explaining themselves. This means there is no need to hesitate in consideration of the political situation of the US or of the UN. A government mouthpiece blurted it out as an instruction of the President,

thus bringing on public criticism. Maybe, acting according to one's faith implies taking only the sovereign's intention into consideration in every affair.

The great trouble, however, is that this sovereign is pendulous. If some trouble arises from acting according to this "faith," the blame would be placed on each actor on the alleged ground that it has nothing to do with the sovereign's instruction. The dictator is so whimsical it is hard to interpret his harsh instructions. At any rate, the Pak regime may assume a tough posture for the time being, while watching international developments with irrepressible apprehensions. This move is not intended to turn the wheel of history in new direction but to find a way to prolong its existence, a way to retain power. The get-tough policy is said to be a reaction to the United States. If the US policy undergoes a change, the Pak regime will have to make a gesture of recovering democracy at least in order to prolong its existence. The presidential emergency measures may possibly be abolished around August 15 prior to the UN General Assembly session due in autumn. It may pass sentence on the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation as soon as possible and grant amnesties in its effort to placate the worsening world public opinion. Such rumours have been rife these days.

All these speculations, however, were denied by Pak Jung Hi on August 4 in his vacation spot at Chinhae, South Kyongsang Province. This year's August 15 will have no important statement, no measures like the reshuffle of the Cabinet. "There can't be such a thing as the revision of the election law." He meant to hold on to his tough policy.

South Korea is really a queer country. This is probably because it is placed under the reign of one man. Various scandals occur in succession among

the ministerialists. The Ministry of Justice, however, is helpless before them. Hence appeared recently a strange thing—President's "autographic warnings." This has caused a great stir among the assemblymen who are enjoying the long-term recess of the National Assembly provided by the Revitalization Constitution. This warning is not opened to the public, since it is autographic. Only a rumour goes round and a suspicion falls on every ministerialist. Thus, south Korea has receded to a dynastic regime under which judicial power is executed by the autograph letters of the President.

Perhaps the congestion of prisons has compelled him to take such a step. In the recent half a year as many as 6,000 people have been convicted to fill the jails. Newspapers report that a ward with a floor space of 1.75-*pyong* interns over 10 in this sweltering summer. New prison buildings rise up quickly but fail to meet the demand. So, a rumour has it that political prisoners will be removed to desert islets. As they should be accorded "generous treatment" of solitary confinement, there is a greater strain on the prison space. Such being the case, President's autographic warnings are enough to replace the measures against ministerialists' scandals. Another big scandal has occurred at the Office of Monopoly in the *insam* dealings and some ministerialists are involved in this case. But, they are likely to go scot-free with an autographic warning.

According to the announcement of the government, more than 60,600 are now confined in 29 prisons throughout the country. I wonder if this figure includes those who are allegedly protected and inspected as old political offenders. This is only natural since people are arrested without warrant and imprisoned by dint of the emergency measures. A newspaper editorial reports that of the detained sus-

pects 30 per cent will be prosecuted without restraint and 40 per cent released unpunished.

A teacher who had brought poor children together and educated them in a local church was arrested without notice on a charge of the violation of the law on private training course. Originally, he had rendered this service with approval under the name of the Bible club of that church. The reason for his arrest was that some politically suspected students had joined and begun to teach the children. Both the educational commission and the public prosecution, sighing over their helplessness before the order of the higher-ups, sent this kind teacher to prison. Now, there is a good reason for the congestion of prisons across the country.

The same is true of the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. On August 3, all of 27 counsels walked out of the courtroom when the judge declared the end of the hearing even without adopting any defence witness. So, 15 defendants out of 18 were prosecuted in the absence of the lawyers. Three defendants Yun Bo Son, Ham Sok Hon and Chong Il Hyong could not be prosecuted without the counsel by the law because they aged all over 70. That day the judge preached long to the counsels. He insisted that even the judiciary appointed by the President could be a fair judge. Noting that he exercised his patience in face of the insults heaped upon the court by the defendants he vented his anger this way:

“So far, I have read documents and heard tape recordings on the trial of this case. My wife, having heard the tape, said she couldn’t tell the accused from the judiciary. This court is not the Pilate court which put Jesus to death, nor the Japanese court which tried An Jung Gun, a patriot.”

The presiding judge seemed to have a firm belief that he was trying criminals. The defence counsel retorted: "Why do you make haste with this trial? You must clear up the truth with an impartial stand. If your haste is intended for a judgment of acquittal it will be reasonable. But if it is for some other things, isn't it terrible?" It is quite unreasonable to adopt none of defence witnesses while calling prosecution ones. As to the presiding judge's complaint about the insults to the court, the counsel remarked:

"I think the prosecutor does not know how to behave himself in court. He bawled at both ex-President and former presidential candidate. Is this the court of any foreign country? If he is an Oriental he ought to know how to behave toward his superiors and ex-President. The prosecution claims the facts are distorted but the accused deny it. The facts and truth ought to be cleared up."

The prosecutor's address lasted over two hours, which boils down to this:

"The accused insulted the court and disobeyed the order of the presiding judge. They refused to be obedient to the government's orders and affronted the President. They advocate the recovery of democracy but it is a Western-styled democracy. Didn't it miscarry in Africa, too? The Revitalization Constitution alone represents the democracy fit for our country which should cope with the north and advance the economy. We are in an emergency now. So, the emergency measures are needed. They think the intellectuals should criticize the government and attack the President. The accused criticized the Revitalization Constitution and Emergency Decree No. 9. They instigated the masses to rise up on the occasion of the March 1st. There is freedom of speech in our

country. Newspaper offices operate and broadcasting stations increase. Religion is also enjoying complete liberty. The number of Christians is swelling. They said Kim Ji Ha is not a Communist but framed as such by the prosecution. But the prosecution cannot fabricate cases. Kim Ji Ha himself confessed to be as such. Moreover, his friend, a Communist, who is now in prison has witnessed Kim's being a Communist. Pastors and priests excessively identify themselves with politics. All oppose for opposition's sake. It is shameful to have talked to foreign newspapers. They brought dishonour by exposing the division of public opinion. Everything they have done is adverse to national interests."

Thus, the prosecutor demanded three to ten years' imprisonment, including the suspension of the civil rights for the duration of the prison terms. A motion for challenge to the judge was made and all of 27 counsels rendered their resignation. As a result, 9 government-nominated lawyers were assigned for the three old defendants.

The August 5 court session was held under the close watch of KCIA agents placed within and without the court. Out of the 9 government-assigned lawyers only three appeared in court. The defendants declared two counsels were not entitled to plead for them for they had not read the judicial records nor had any personal contacts with them. Nevertheless, the prosecution demanded ten years' imprisonment and suspension for ex-President Yun Bo Son and Ham Sok Hon and seven years' imprisonment and suspension for assemblyman Chong Il Hyong. Hearing of this prosecution, those accused leaders merely smiled a wry smile. It was a smile to repress their anger at being judged by the traitor to the nation.

The presiding judge declared the first instance of

this case should be concluded until September 9. Kim Dae Jung had prepared his final statement but dropped it in protest against the unfair trial held without defence counsels. He only voiced a protest with the bench for making haste with the trial when there was still one month's period before September 9. Other defendants, too, refused to make their statements. Mrs. Li Tae Yong made an emotional statement.

"I have many things to speak of. What the prosecutor has said is the wanton distortion of the facts. It is really regrettable that those in power show such dissent from the people. A sheet of a declaration has brought this heavy penalty. As Chong Il Hyong's wife I only delivered that declaration, but on this charge seven years' imprisonment is demanded for me. The accused usually nurses hatred as he is tortured. But in this court, the judiciary have borne a horrible hatred. To my shame, I must refer to the Japanese court. By its decisions my husband was put in jail more than once. Japanese imperialist judges, however, were indulgent to the wife of the accused. But, why is this court so cruel even to the wife of the accused? What are you getting at by jailing me, the first woman lawyer of this country who is spurring herself up in spite of her old age for the sake of the rights of women? In his address the prosecutor called us parlor patriots. Are we really? Then, how will you explain the fact that these patriots were repeatedly imprisoned for their movement for independence? Where were you when they were in prison in the days of Japanese imperialist rule? What did the present rulers do and where at the time? Didn't some of them take arms in Manchuria to torture those patriots? What did they do when the patriots were fighting, forming the front of the independence

movement? They say Western democracy is impossible, but has there been any opportunity of enforcing it? Barely one year after the April 19, 1960 Democratic Revolution someone trampled its results underfoot at the point of bayonet. The prosecutor is possessed by hatred and prejudice. Even in the court of Japanese imperialism judges and prosecutors prefixed "Sir" or "Mr." to the names of patriots. But, you call even the ex-President the "accused" all the time. This is a cruel, hateful court."

If one is tried in an unrecognized court by an unrecognized law, he will have an inveterate grudge. The people who were once subjected to domination by other nation usually ask their rulers to have the moral integrity. Those who sided with the rulers of other nation in suppressing our nation should be removed, to say the least of it. It is desirable that those who shared agony and sorrow with the people become rulers. This desire may be hardly understandable to the rulers of a big country. Hence, with their backing those regarded as traitors to the nation are able to seize power and reign over the people.

Christians are all the more infuriated at such situation. Where on earth can they who had been chased out by Japanese imperialism settle down if even this south is destitute of the freedom of religion and democracy? Isn't it that a horde of traitors have taken away the noble ideal of our nation and are now living in luxury, bossing the whole show? In this condition, the resistance of Christians, though small in number, will continue without end. Now let me introduce the statements of a few defendants made in court:

Prof. Li Mun Yong: I veto this court. They say we are not allowed to face a new court, but I will speak,

thinking I am standing before a new court. Both inquiry and investigation have departed from facts. The prosecutor's address is a medley of contradictions. While alleging that human rights are free from repression, he stresses the need to suppress freedom for the sake of security. Present here are the ex-President, the former presidential candidate who polled 46 per cent of the votes, a person who was returned to the National Assembly eight times and personages who represent the conscience of the nation. Maybe you are loyal to the President, but not so to the people. Can it be justified for you to storm at these persons? It would not be good even for the present President to whom you are rendering devoted service. I don't plead my innocence but assert my rightness. As I am true to Jesus, I have taken the thorny path he traversed for justice. I was expelled from Koryo University. But I wished this university would not be put to shame for this expulsion of me. Likewise, if you are to be faithful to the President, you ought to be careful not to make him eat dirt.

Priest Kim Sung Hun: I want to speak a word about Kim Ji Ha. I have heard the trial of his case for the most part. In his argument the prosecutor said he is a Communist. It is not true. Mr. Son who was called out of prison as prosecution witness and asked if Kim Ji Ha had confided to him his being a Communist, answered he only looked like so. I ask the prosecutor not to distort the truth.

When Prof. An Byong Mu was demanded seven years' imprisonment first someone greeted him with the word, "You've got a silver medal." But now the term being reduced to five years, he said in joke his medal turned to a copper one. Demand of ten years in prison is a gold medal. What Pastor Li Ilac Dong said lingers in my ear:

“You may smash our existence but we will never surrender. You can snatch everything by use of power but cannot hold us in the hollow of your hand. You can beat us to death but we will never give in. Because, without our ideal this country will have no future.”

For what reason were such heavy penalties demanded? What will become of them? There are many rumours and conjectures. Probably Pak Jung Hi himself has not made up his mind yet. He has a chicken heart. After ordering a heavy penalty out of vexation, he would shrink back for fear of its terrible consequences. After yielding to the public opinion, he would writhe with inferiority complex, and then assume a stiff air. He has a fairly long time before the final judgment due August 28. In this while he would have exhaustive discussions and try to get the feel of the world public opinion.

There is another wild rumour that such stay of judgment is due to the “groundless rumour” to this effect: In consideration of the election in America and the oncoming UN General Assembly session the first trial will be concluded and the emergency measures lifted before August 15 and thus the accused may be placed on probation. This rumour, it is said, has led the government to put forward a tough policy. Pak Jung Hi entertains a grotesque idea that ruling the people means doing nothing according to their wish. This is really a childish conception in which he thinks he can govern as he likes while the people must not meddle in it. He takes the people for his foes and likes to do extraordinary things. This disposition must have come from his military mentality.

What on earth does it mean to demand ten years’ imprisonment for such a person of great age as ex-

President Yun? Many people fail to read Pak Jung Hi's mind. Having demanded such a terrible heavy penalty, he must be finding himself in an awkward position. He would issue an order in a fit of passion but soon become conservative. This time he might have had a mind to show off his tough posture of not yielding to the public opinion, the world public opinion in particular. But, most people think that the term of imprisonment demanded by the prosecutor will be reduced to a half by judgment and the accused be granted a stay of execution. But it is feared that Kim Dae Jung and some others who are an object of hatred will be imprisoned for some time. If this news spreads, Pak Jung Hi may behave otherwise. But it is said that he would make at least Kim Dae Jung helpless by means of suspension beforehand if an election is to be held under the pressure of the world public opinion.

On August 3, families of the accused made public the "statement of the defendants' families on the conclusion of the March First hearing." It clarified their indifference to the conclusion of the hearing of that political case. Its last passage reads:

"We only pray for the earliest recovery of democracy, the wish of the defendants who are raising the voice of conscience out of their patriotism and readily bearing the afflictions of the cross to follow Jesus."

The South Korean National Council of Churches, too, published a "statement on the March First case" on August 5. It protested against the denial of witnesses, the absence of counsels and the unreasonable proceedings of the trial and expressed disapproval of the demand of heavy penalties. It also protested against the fact that Rev. Pak Hyong Gyu and others

related to the Special Mission Committee in the Capital were jailed and put to cruel torture in an attempt to fabricate a case. It pointed out that the government is playing a "dangerous, cruel and very doubtful" trick against Christianity. At present the churches seem to be uniting themselves again. It may be said that they have come to know better the real nature of the government's trick. There is little likelihood that the conflict between the Pak regime and the south Korean Christianity will come to an end easily.

Second Declaration for Democratic National Salvation

I extend my heartfelt thanks to those who are supporting our weak struggle from abroad. Today I read a resolution made in mid-July by 5,000 women Presbyterians in America to give support concerning the question of south Korea. And I heard from my friend the news that a general meeting of the "Allied Christian Church" held in Hawaii adopted a "resolution concerned about the south Korean brothers and sisters" and decided to bring it into practice.

I am also very grateful for the press reports in Japan and the United States. In Germany, I'm told, writer Mrs. Louise Rinse who had visited south Korea and moved us contributed an article to monthly *Spiegel* in support of us, arousing the interest of Europe in the question of human rights in south Korea. Many news reach us, though they are not definite at times, assuming the form of rumours. They say Mrs. Rinse is taking great pains for the

sake of Kim Ji Ha in particular. I extend my deep thanks to her.

The Pak regime is desperate for stamping out this conscientious support. It spends much money in its overseas activities and carries on an invitation campaign through various organizations and individuals. And it is said to be putting particular emphasis on the invitation of men of influence with mass communication media. It appears that many people decline the invitation. If a foreigner accepts a favor and comes, the papers report it without fail.

Labour problem has become ever more serious these days. The more factories rise through industrialization, the acuter this problem will become. It happened at a laver cake mill. Some 1,000 female workers here demanded the discharge of a wicked overseer. When the management refused it, they launched a "telephone operation." The management was phoned day and night without letup by 1,000 workers who pressed it with the same demand. Thus, it was forced to replace the overseer on the fourth day.

Workers think they have no reason to abide by the law since the government itself defies it. There is a big company called Sinhung Flour Mill in Chongju, North Chungchong Province. The workers refused overtime. The management reportedly sent 200,000 *won* to their representative with a view to buying off him, but his wife thrust it back. The workers resisted overtime for 45 days. The management cried over a loss of six million *won* a day. All workers tendered their resignation when their representative was fired. The management came to terms with them after all.

Such an atmosphere seems to spread all over the country. Woman workers are most courageous in struggle. The government wishes a compromise

between the executive and the workers so that the present disputes may not assume serious proportions. Because it dislikes the outburst of discontent. Papers print nothing about these disputes. But, the government will find it hard to manage things with such stopgap measures. Then it will have no other way but to resort to harsh suppression. But this will aggravate the situation. In this domain, too, it is believed, the flames of resistance will surge higher and higher.

The Catholic parish in Wonju published "The Statement of the Priests before the Court" in its monthly *Wonju Circular*. It bears the subtitle "Audience's Notes on the Myongdong Case (The Government calls this way the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation)" (sixth-tenth hearings). Though moderate, it is intended to tell the truth to the believers and share one and the same feelings. In fact, even this much resistance is impermissible under the present situation.

At last in Kwangju, South Cholla Province occurred the case of the so-called Second Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. The Presbyterian Church of south Korea is known as liberal. It runs the Hanguk Theological Seminary. Pastors of this denomination have so far undergone great sufferings and its theologians are still on trial because of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. Even now it calls this declaration "an appeal of religious conscience based on national patriotism." On April 22 of this year, the Presbyterian Parish Council in South Cholla Province held a general meeting and stated:

1. Release the detained churchmen immediately;
2. The Myongdong case is a manifestation of

patriotism and a confession of religious conscience;

3. Abolish the Revitalization Constitution and recover a democratic one;
4. Our parish council firmly resolves to act as a community of common fate, praying to living God, until its demand is met.

When this statement was published, the government didn't take it so seriously and confined itself to partial suppression. The statement was read out again at the extraordinary meeting of the parish council held on August 10. This time, I'm told, the police could not overlook it because they had to behave as directed by nondescript troops called the 505th unit which forced its way into the Kwangju district. So they arrested 9 persons at first. Now four pastors are expected to be indicted in confinement, I hear. But, this case has aroused the whole church to resistance. Since those four pastors are enjoying the support of the whole church as its leading figures, the resistance may grow into a fierce struggle. Let me quote one passage of the report on the "case of the August 10 declaration."

"When the August 10 declaration incident occurred, the Presbyterian Parish Council in South Cholla Province issued an emergency summons to all the churches under its authority and held on August 14 an extraordinary meeting in the Hanbit Church. Various sad, tear-provoking scenes were presented because the authorities had instigated various agencies concerned to threaten, conciliate or openly prevent pastors, elders and other laymen from attending that meeting. In Muan County seat the authorities raised a disturbance by forcibly breaking up an all-night prayer vigil on August 15. A

pastor of the Changchon Church in Kangjin County, South Cholla Province, had a morning prayer on the 14th, after receiving the emergency summons to the extraordinary meeting. But he could not go out of his house because of the surveillance of agents. So, he put on high boots and slipped out by the back door into the paddyfield where he changed his footwear with one prepared in advance by his wife. He walked twenty *ri*, took a bus and came to Kwangju. A pastor of the Namchang Church who was visited by the police early in the morning invited them to a restaurant. After paying food charges to its master he stole through the back gate and came to Kwangju. Sixty believers of the church in Kangjin County seat planned to come to Kwangju as a group. But agents tried to arrest or lead them astray. So 40 were able to reach their destination. The remaining 20 also succeeded in coming to Kwangju by the 16th. It is said that one believer, a public servant, took action, ready for resignation, with a written resignation in his pocket. Elders and other laymen who had been forced to get off a bus on the way had to walk thirty *ri*, beating mountain paths and footpaths between rice-fields, to attend the parish council's extraordinary prayer meeting. This manifests a pure, passionate religion of the countryside."

I have cited this rather long passage in full because it is so pathetic. The unknown country pastors and believers are fighting this way. Their struggle may bring seven or ten years' imprisonment upon them, but they don't mind it. On August 14, ten family members of those put in jail for the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation headed for Kwangju. They wanted to attend the extraordinary meeting in the Hanbit

Church and encourage and comfort each other. But, when they got off at the express bus terminal in Kwangju, they were sieged by 100 policemen and sent back to their homes in Seoul by a police bus. In this way the imprisoned are invigorated by their families and vice versa.

The Pak regime is also beating a rough path to prolong its existence, I should say. Under its suppression the popular front of resistance, though inconspicuous, is growing in scale. There is no knowing where it will break out. New passions seem to be boiling among the local people immune to cynicism and among workers, female workers in particular. The Pak regime will work out another despicable, cruel measure. The conscientious resistance of the people, however, will never cease.

August 17, 1976

A THREAD OF PRIDE

After the First Hearing

*Magpie, magpie,
Where are you flying off?
My dear will come
When you clatter.
If you, exhausted with chattering,
Fly away over that mountain,
When will my dear come back?
Stay with me, even you alone.
Stay with me, even you alone.*

This is a song which was sung for a time a few years ago, but now is nearly dismissed from the minds of the public. Even the name of its first singer can hardly be remembered. The song was recited among the families of those imprisoned on account of the case of the Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. One late summer or early autumn night, I was thrown into ecstasies listening to the tune of this song which was fading away into the nocturnal sky.

The singers were women who attached a new meaning to the song now disappearing from the memory of the world. They gave a social meaning to the song which tells of a woman yearning for her missing husband. They sing longing not only for their jailed husbands but for a new morn of their motherland. South Koreans sing even in an-

guish. Now those women sing together with the people in the same hard lot. They support and encourage one another, singing the same song in the same community of friendship.

Had it not been for this friendship, they might have been unable to endure their sufferings and fallen out or down one after another. Particularly, their zeal for struggle would not have surged so high as it is today. Such friendship is essential for the growth of mentality, conscience and courage. Thus, those women, I am told, are able to gather almost every day though their bodies and minds have been worn out. At the Galilean Church they often sing the following hymn of faith.

*Pray come back quick.
Democracy restored, come back quick.
Bearing your cross for the people
By the help of the Lord,
You've become a builder of democracy,
With a singlehearted love for the country.
Pray come back in triumph.
A fighter of democracy, come back quick.*

This hymn is a modern version of a former religious song calling a prisoner. There also spreads a song which goes: "This land of morning calm calls workers. Let us become the seed of Heaven and carry forward a new life of history." This is a hymn written by Rev. Kim Jae Jun who was an elder of the Hanguk Church and is now active in Canada. Keeping with this age, the conscientious Christians seem to be seeking a new prayer and a new song. They have an indomitable spirit and make unremitting exertions. They form a minority, but we find a hope in them.

On August 28 the court sat for final judgement

before a full audience. The presiding judge read the decision for an hour. For some reason he skipped seven or eight pages of its text. It was slipshod to the last degree. None of the previous decisions on political cases had ever been so sloppy as that. The following news flash carried the next day pinpoints what that was like:

The academic career and scholarship of the defendants are much admirable, but they lack a minimum of knowledge they ought to have as citizens and suffer from self-complacency and arbitrariness, so that they bring calamity not only upon themselves but upon the country.

It is interesting, however, that this passage is omitted from the decision read by the presiding judge. In the "*gravamina and facta*" which follow the "text clause" the complications of the case are dwelt on at full length before bringing forward this charge: "The defendants distorted the facts in their propaganda, misinterpreted and slandered the Constitution of the Republic of Korea, contended and agitated for its abolition, and openly vilified Emergency Decree No. 9." And it ends with the display of such an incomprehensible sophistry that the right of resistance cannot exist beyond the limits of the "positive law and order" and "our Constitution."

What then did that news item come from? The decision passed at the political trial is recast when it is made public. This is the way the KCIA operates and propagandizes, we can say. Anyway, the eighteen defendants were given prison sentences of eight, five, three and two years. The presiding judge did not order the seven unarrested convicts to be jailed. He once acquitted the Seoul University students who had been arrested while working among slum dwell-

lers. At that time, too, it is said, he aroused the anger of the KCIA that was intending to sentence them on criminal charges under the Anti-Communist Law. We hoped that the courage of this judge would bring about a new situation. But the KCIA and the Blue House took so tough an attitude toward this case. A friend who did his best to give support for this trial said:

"We are inclined to entertain a rosy view. We had little thought that they would maintain such a tough attitude to the last because of the international relations. This time, too, they have belied common sense and the expectations of the public. Kim Dae Jung is of our first consideration. His health is now in a state of danger. We have taken the optimistic view that they would not dare to snatch his life. But they do what one thinks impossible. Kim's failing health may be related with the diabolic scheme of the KCIA. Pak Jung Hi must not be looked upon as an average human being. He is constantly seeking Kim's life."

According to his account, Kim is the focus of repression. Just recently his wife visited him and trimmed his nails. For he could hardly move his body freely on account of neuralgia. That kind treatment came to the knowledge of the Blue House to kick up a great row. My friend went on to say:

"Kim Ji Ha has been put into prison under the apprehension that the two Kims might join hands. Well, there was a rumour that Kim Ji Ha was writing a story about the Kim Dae Jung case. And the final decision came against *Tonga Ilbo* because its reporters started dealing with that case, frontpaging Kim's photograph."

My friend was sorry we had ever failed to set it as our prime task to defend Kim's life, presumably, the only hope of ours. From this point of view, he told, it was a fault that he was drawn into the case of the Declaration for Democratic National Salvation.

"However, to him it must have been unavoidable. The people surrounding him ought to have excluded him. Needless to say, even if he were outside prison, it would provide no guarantee for his safety in these ever-worsening circumstances. What is more, the KCIA is now propagandizing that he even rallied presbyters and ministers around him out of his political ambition. What a pity!"

Diverse comments on the recent decision keep buzzing around. The Pak regime might have had to show the people its firm determination not to give in to foreign views. If there is pressure from the United States, the Pak regime will only have to save the honour of the United States by releasing the people imprisoned for that declaration. If pressed further to the direct presidential election, it will hold that Kim Dae Jung, a convict, cannot stand as a candidate. The US government, it believes, will be unable to go farther than that. It is prepared to meet every possible event, even to concede to the demand for election in the worst case. It was my journalist friend who told me this conjecture. He said in conclusion:

"Any concession of Pak Jung Hi will be made on condition that he retains power. Now the New Village Movement is going on in the countryside. Salaried subleaders are appointed, and farmers given jobs in the slack season and paid a high wage amounting to 2,000 *won* a day. Only this will make the coun-

tryside rich, they insist. It is a money-lavishing policy aimed at garnering the affirmative votes of the peasants accounting for forty per cent of the entire population at the time of election.

Instead, the Pak regime imposes heavy taxes on the urban inhabitants and raises commodity tax. Thus, the plot to maintain its existence even in case of a possible change in the American policy is successfully under way. Nowadays it is planning to discontinue even the collection of the government statistics as Taiwan did. The reason is that flaws are found even in the carefully compiled statistics, inviting criticisms. Everything is thus left to the free will of Pak who is engrossed in maintaining his throne."

Pak Jung Hi's lust for power will remain unchanged under any circumstances. Even if it were the path leading the country to ruin, he would not mind it at all. This fundamental posture of the Pak regime weighs more heavily on our minds than the imposition of heavy penalties.

The wives of the so-called defendants are kept under round-the-clock surveillance around the time of the final judgement. They are shadowed each by six to ten special agents. A woman said with a bitter smile: "These days we use police cars whenever we return home from an outing."

All the persons implicated in the case of the Declaration for Democratic National Salvation appealed to the High Court. The 27 lawyers who resigned because of the cancellation of the defendants' motion for challenge to the presiding judge at the first hearing will reappear in court, I hear. The Pak regime will either deal with this appeal as quickly as possible to clean up the case or defer it as long as possible to bury it in oblivion. For the

present it is supposed that it may choose the latter course in consideration of the world opinion. The reaction of the world opinion to this trial is a closed book to us.

Endless Darkness

Some days ago I had a chance of reading a printed matter on the statement ex-President Yun Bo Son had made at a press interview on the occasion of the August 15 liberation day. This statement was not reported at home although it is said to be known abroad. Its content involves a proposal for holding a "US-Japan-south Korea talk" for peace in Korea. My attention was directed, before anything else, to the second item entitled "My Impression on the Occasion of the Thirty-first Anniversary of the August 15 Liberation." It reads:

Complex. Liberation should have become the starting point of national independence and democracy. But the country is divided into two, and democracy in this land has even lost its shape so that one cannot make head or tail of it. I fully realize I am also partly answerable for the present reality. I hope genuine democracy will be restored in my life. This is my penitence, my will and my hope. It would be lucky if I could even see the unified happy fatherland. And yet I wish, first of all, I could see with my own eyes the day when unity and peace—people's peace based on democracy—will be realized. As I stated in court, I don't think there is no hope at all. I believe nothing can still the voice of a great many youth and students, intellectuals and religionists who are full of faith and break their will power. The longer their

arduous struggle lasts and the harder it becomes, the more firmly democracy in this country will be built, surmounting difficulties. Our future will be so much bright and hopeful.

In the past our forerunners fighting for independence said they would not be sorry for their death if they could see the day of independence. The same cry, however, comes out still today in frustration after liberation. It evokes the image of one struggling not to lose his pride even in the endless darkness. A leader must maintain such faith and make an appeal even for those citizens who seek imminent happiness only, driven to despair by the hopeless future. Yun told that international solidarity was necessary to fulfil the permanent duty of mankind, that is, to "remove such an evil as man doing harm to the same man." Declaring that he would not be restrained in the least by the court decision on himself, he concluded his statement with these words:

"I often cherish the illusion that it is not we who stand trial, but we judge the present regime. I don't doubt history will judge the court decision on the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. No one regards this trial as fair.... Since everything is decided according to the will of Pak Jung Hi, I too may be sent to prison. Then, this would be the last chance for me to meet you. I feel no fear, though. My conscience is clean."

I am afraid I've become timid. For some reason, I cannot but take pity on him who still keeps such a pride even in anguish. It may be because I was depressed at many unhappy events which took place in succession in August.

On August 10 priests in Kwangju, South Cholla

Province, announced the Second Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. I informed you of this incident in my previous letter. Its aftereffects are still lingering on. In connection with this incident a prayer meeting was held in Mokpo on August 18. Concurrent with this, the National Presbyterian Youth Association convened an educational meeting in the area of Mokpo. Six hundred young participants demonstrated, marching six kilometres. They sang a song of liberty and cried for the release of the democratic personages arrested on account of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation case. The police surrounded them, marching together, but left them untouched. It was unusual indeed. Citizens clapped their hands, avoiding the eyes of the police. On August 19 the meeting issued a very strong statement under the title: "Confession of Mass Religion." The statement lashed with indignation at the government for having bled white the people in the "name of the nation," though it is entrusted with the "supreme power for the defence of the nation" by the people who "regard it as the supreme duty to love the country." It reads in conclusion:

We profess that the declaration made by priests and elders in Myongdong on the first of March last and the declaration by pastors in Kwangju on the tenth of August represent the true voices of the people and the confession of faith following Jesus who crucified himself for the sake of the people. That is why we strongly demand the release of the priests and elders who have been arrested and detained on account of those declarations. At the same time, we, the young people who long for freedom and are ready to rather die in the fight than live in slavery, evince our determination to fight to the last for the

liberation of the oppressed masses. For this is just the road of mass mission for following after Jesus. We, over 600 young Presbyterians, confess and declare in the name of Jesus that we will continue our hopeful, vigorous march for the glorious liberties.

Very admirable is this determination and action of young people. No account of this is given by the newspapers, but it is told from mouth to mouth. Both the police and the KCIA have not yet set their hands to this event. Perhaps they intend to crush those young people piecemeal after a thorough, secret examination. They seem to be avoiding frontal clash with them with the fall term ahead. Particularly, they seem to be careful lest the Presbyterian Church as a whole should assume a tough attitude. It may be related to a national meeting of this denomination due late September. Sooner or later, however, a cruel revenge will be taken against them. In South Cholla Province pastors and students are continually hauled off on various grounds. The Pak regime, however, seems to be still prudent, fearing a flame might flare up in this area which often served as the ignition point of anti-Japanese movements in the days of Japanese rule.

On the day before August 28 set for the final trial "a prayer meeting for the brothers in trouble" was held under the auspices of the South Korean National Council of Churches. Another unexpected scene was unfolded at the meeting. About thirty young women workers in labour dispute were present there, to cause a big trouble. The pastor who had ushered them in was immediately taken to the KCIA. What was more shocking was an incident that occurred at the end of the meeting. A young man who had once been arrested and branded as a "Communist" ripped up his own stomach with a splinter

of a glass bottle and wailed shedding blood. He groaned in pain and shouted: "The March First case is null and void!", "Sons of bitches trampling the poor to death!"

I remember it was August 31. Mr. Kim Ji Ha's parents made a bold adventure that day. Early in the morning they hurried to the prison and, finding their son being led to the prison van, they made a rush for it. They pushed aside the guard who was bewildered by the surprise attack, and thus they succeeded in meeting their son. Meeting her son with such great efforts after one year and a half of separation, the mother looked really happy. They say she also showed him his little son. After hearing from their son a single word, "Be at ease!", they returned home. Such a meeting will not be provided for them again. An elder who informed me of this news deplored over his helplessness towards a great number of nameless young people who were suffering in prison, even deprived of a chance of meeting with their families. Indeed, will they keep a thread of pride even in these harsh realities?

September 3, 1976

An Expressionless Country

A heavy silence pervades the masses. Will this rather disturb the authorities again? Even a critical person, if any, is quite powerless in this situation. But the authorities crack down on such a person in full force.

Vicious plots to still the voices of criticism in and out of the country seem to be further intensified.

Even though the KCIA doings have caused a scandal abroad, they do not give them up. They only have become more wicked and intelligent. An incident like the abduction of Kim Dae Jung in Tokyo may happen at any moment. Such practice of the KCIA will become even more vicious. It may kill a person in a forged accident instead of abducting him. There are loud complaints inside the KCIA regarding the headache it is suffering still now by spiriting Kim Dae Jung instead of killing him abroad. It is quite within the bounds of possibility that man-killing in make-believe accidents will be sought abroad too, though it has already been practiced at home. And the KCIA feels easy in its thought that even a case of cruel murder will be put into oblivion with the passage of time and that even if it is sensed slightly, it will be cancelled out when it is mingled with political affairs. What underlies the Pak regime above all is cynicism that neither conscience nor public opinion nor the masses can topple it however immoral and cruel it may be. No one can forecast what an unhappy event will take place.

Antagonism between the Pak regime and Christianity has become even more glaring at home. One reason may be that labelling Christianity communistic is most difficult. But, the main reason may be that this church, though a minority, has to utter its conscience in distress because its faith can hardly connive at vices.

Nowadays the authorities show a stiff attitude in their assertion that Christianity serves likewise as a hotbed of communism consciously or unconsciously. The police is engaged in subversive manoeuvres against Christianity by use of its cadres who profess themselves to be Christians. As a material evidence which has posed a special problem now, there is a booklet titled "Comprehension of South

Korean Christianity," which is reportedly used by those cadres in the training of police officers. This book notes that the religious circles keep persons who "participate in social activities and induce many people to commit crimes." And it asserts that behind their activities are hidden "such words as liberation theology and social relief which are to be seen in the theological doctrine spreading of late." It also contains the following phrases regarding the church which makes an issue of human rights:

"Don't overlook the similarity to the revolutionary strategy of Communists."

"Keep in mind that the second liberation means the liberation of the oppressed classes; it is a synonym of the communist revolution."

"Though they cry for the freedom of mission... the fact is, they induce the church to claim for the freedom of political or revolutionary movement."

"They frequently use such words as the freedom of mission, human rights, democracy, inhumanness, the poor and oppressed, mass community, emergency from poverty, Jesus proletariat and relief of today."

These quotations suggest that now almost all the struggles of the south Korean churches face the danger of being branded **communistic**. Police officers are made to penetrate into churches for activity under the guise of believers so that they may not be condemned as church inspectors. And the activities of Christians among workers and of Christian student organizations on the campus are likewise accused of being a direct manifestation of communist activities. The church authorities continue to protest against all this.

Here is an interesting example of such protest. The families of those arrested for the Declaration

for Democratic National Salvation lodged a protest with the Seoul City Police Bureau against their round-the-clock watch and shadowing. The answer was quite out of the common.

They said, "We have never disturbed the private lives of the people by shadowing and watching them and will never do such a thing in the future, too." And, quoting the proverb, "You must hate crime, but not man," they said that they fully understood the feelings of the arrested. Showing that written answer, one family member told me as follows:

"It's like crying wine, and selling vinegar. They tell such a transparent lie with a nonchalant air. They seem to think this is the politics. They seem to be different from us even in language sense and the way of thinking. Now they do not feel abashed in telling such a lie. They are no longer human beings, I should say. If they are to treat us not like human beings, they must become inhuman first. We would show this official document to the policemen or KCIA members fastened on us and ask them what all that is. At this, they only smile an awkward bitter smile."

The control of campuses has reached the highest pitch. September 3 last marked the first anniversary of the foundation of the Student Defence League. On that occasion an unprincipled professor wrote an article about its "brilliant history" in a newspaper. It runs:

"The establishment of the Student Defence League one year ago opened a new era in the university history of our country. Its former history was in a nutshell a history of disorderly campus. In the past

passions ran high without control, incitement danced boisterously without reflection, and feuds and tragedies got entangled. Such a past, however, is quickly going away from us. I hope that our university will be able to take up the challenge of the age in an original manner and perform responsible service in the pressing realities of our nation by establishing a desirable order of reason, confirming its own subject and planning the future wisely."

What on earth does this philosopher want to say? He is brazen-faced enough. In universities there is no shred of evidence to praise the Student Defence League or expect a "brilliant future" from it. This league aims to rally the teachers and students into a "well-knit" organization under the slogan, "Let us defend the country while studying." The first article of its duties is "to give mental education on national security." Under this article, students are not allowed to join any on- and off-campus organization which is not authorized by the Minister of Education or outside the control of the Student Defence League. Any interclass gathering should be reported to the campus authorities 48 hours before to obtain permission. As a result, it seems that an "order of the graveyard" diametrically opposite to what the aforesaid professor trumpeted has been established on the campus. I would like to introduce one passage of a report sent to me from a student. It reads:

"On the campus there can be hardly seen any academic or circle activities of the students under the control of the Student Defence League. In many cases cadres are unofficially accorded a special economic treatment in the form of scholarship. Any circle activity requires a complex procedure for

registration and a professor for guidance. Even if registered, it is put to an intricate examination as to its aim and content. So there are almost no circle activities. All the first-year collegians throughout the country undergo a most severe ten-day military training at the army training schools in addition to oncampus military drills."

This produces expressionless young people who neither think nor speak of anything that is unnecessary. A friend who had returned home from abroad after a long absence sardonically said, "I don't know why but south Koreans are far more expressionless than before and their faces all look like an egg." This I cannot forget. That time I shouted in anger, "Don't talk fresh," but felt depressed at the thought that I too might probably look so in the repression of my emotions.

Labour Front

About two months ago there appeared in a newspaper an article dealing with a protest registered by bus drivers against the mobilization of their company's trade union officials for a supervision over the illegal practices of bus girls. The ceaseless trouble is the embezzlement of bus fares by conductresses. A trade union cadre watched over them and made a false charge against a girl bus conductor. Unable to swallow the insult, the girl attempted her own life with poison. She was carried to a hospital, only to be forced to leave it early in the next morning and go back home in a locality.

Such news concerning a labour problem is rarely reported in papers. In effect, however, a great many

labour problems are cropping up throughout the country. The government is much nervous about the remarkable growth of their number. On September 8 last, the harvest moon festival day (August 15 by the lunar calendar), the government went so far as to give special assistance in clearing "back wages." Let me introduce some of the complaints on the bad working conditions.

"There are 2,500 workers at our confectionery. They work on two 12-hour shifts, alternating the day and night shifts by the week. More often than not, they work 17-19 hours on Sundays. For the delicately-built female workers it is really unbearable. After work is over, they have to clean their work places for 20-30 minutes and hear lengthy instructions. The time for finishing work is violated, while the time for going to work is strictly observed. The basic pay of workers with 7-8 years of service is 640 *won* a day. When they come five minutes late to work, 500 *won* will be cut from this pay. Half an hour is given for lunch. Working under contract, they must wrap 16,800 chewing gums in twelve hours to receive 840 *won*. They cannot enjoy a Sunday rest. One Sunday not a small number of women workers went up a mountain instead of going to work. This put the company officials to such a trouble as to show up and photograph them."

"I have been working at the candy section. I wrap up 15,000 to 20,000 pieces of candies on an average a day. My finger-tips grow hot and even bleed at times. My fingers are now bent and deformed. Unable to endure any longer, on February 8 last, we struggled, pressing our claims that the practice of forcing us to work more than twelve hours a day be eliminated and a Sunday rest be observed. After a hard struggle our claims were

fulfilled on March 1. But, we have been fired as prime movers. I have to leave my work place where I have worked wearing out my youth for six years. Please accept this humble appeal, and give me a helping hand."

"Tears stand in my eyes at the sight of my friends who are rushing about all in a sweat, reeling thread in a hot room where the mercury rises to 40 degrees, their faces and hands covered with heat rash and their bodies with cotton dust. Once I had a lung trouble. And I had athlete's foot which is usually caused by such toil in one to two years. My feet were so itchy I would rub them on the concrete floor until blood oozed from them. More than once I burst into tears. This made me participate in the trade union movement, and now I have become a standing executive member and a delegate. Though, I have been suspended from my work for an indefinite period because of 'disobeying orders from the higher-ups.' Many other delegates are in the same lot with me. I lost my mother at 11 and went out into society to earn the school expenses for my younger brothers. At that time I never dreamed of this society being so cruel. I'm not the only one to have this misfortune. The problem, I think, involves the entire weak toiling people of south Korea. So we should put our strength together and fight. I beg for your help."

In a place like that the KCIA and the management cooperate with each other and form a new reptile labour union organization. According to the Labour Law of south Korea, each enterprise is allowed to keep only one labour union organization. This makes the reptile labour union organization legal while outlawing the trade union voluntarily organized by the workers themselves. Now many conscientious workers fight desperately against the

reptile labour union, only to meet abject failure. The judiciary always sides with the government authorities and the KCIA. Thus, only faint voices of disappointment are heard. Frequently petitions are presented to the Head of the Office of Labour.

Almost all the appeals and petitions are too miserable to read. They make them, expressing their readiness to "suffer a lot of impending hardships." One appeal exposes that they have been forced to say nothing in case an official comes down from the Office of Labour for investigation. Women workers complain of wages not being paid on the plea of financial difficulty. Here is another appeal.

"Our company is an underwear factory. Although it is made a rule to work from 8:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., two hundred workers are usually forced to toil until 2:00 or 4:00 a.m. The management imposes a round-the-clock work on the workers from time to time. If this is more than they can endure, they are given only one hour or two for sleep. The gate is locked to prevent workers from stealing away. It was really a hard work. We heard an inspector came down from the Office of Labour, but could not meet him. Nothing has improved. Should we youngsters undergo such maltreatment because we are poor and had no schooling? Even oxen and horses could not be driven so hard."

An incident which took place at a spinning mill in Inchon is most miserable. It keeps 1,300 employees, four-fifths of whom are female workers. In 1972 they made a woman the leader of the branch trade union. However, the company management, in collusion with the government authorities, actively manoeuvred to staff that branch trade union all with men including its leader. The provincial governor

helped in this plot by issuing an executive order; and the factory management sought every kind of subversive machination. The women workers answered this violence with heroic resistance.

Here is part of their sad story carried in the weekly *Chugan Simin* (dated August 23). Subjected to crude pressure, 400 female workers resisted by way of fasting. The police was called in. Someone hit upon a bright idea. If they became naked, the police would not dare lay hands on them. The police, however, made a dart at seventy female trade union cadre workers who were defending their office nakedly in a scrum-like formation, singing a song of the trade union. Some male workers under the wing of the factory management threw ridicule upon the female workers and even tried to snapshot the scene of the skirmish. Seventy-two women workers were taken on the riot police car and more than forty fell into a dead faint.

"What are we to blame for?"

"Kill us rather than arrest!"

In the confusion of the moment, some women workers threw themselves under the police car. The cat's paws had the cheek to say to the police, "This too is a delegate. Catch, please." The factory manager cried, "Take away all those female workers!" Working in three shifts, almost all female workers participated in the struggle by turns. They yelled: "We will die standing than live with bent knees." The shock was so great three women workers lapsed into deliration. Even confined to bed, they shouted: "Somebody is standing in that corner." "Release our branch leader!" This is because the police had hauled off their female branch leader on a charge of embezzlement. It is said one of them still needs 4-5 months to recover some degree. She sent her younger brother, a middle schoolboy, 10,000-15,000 *won* a month for school

expenses. Her father is still failing to see her. He said with a sigh as follows:

"My daughter had never attended a hospital before. If she went mad what would become of her? The company management has been threatening to cut her pay since her hospitalization. We are in such trouble."

This may symbolize the present south Korean society. It is a despicable and cruel age. We suffer the great shame of living under such political power. Those women workers tried to live with a high sense of pride even in these circumstances. Nay, they only tried to live humbly as human beings. Wasn't it, however, a path leading so young a girl to delirium? True, a great many people, along with them, looking toward the empty void, are asking again and again inwardly: "How on earth should we live out this age?" Is there any soul, indeed, who gives heed to this voice?

Finally, here are a few more news heard just before closing this letter. Twelve young cadres of the Democratic Unification Party were arrested all of a sudden, though I cannot know why. In Mokpo young Christians demonstrated, and on this ground the pharmacy run by chairman of their society was closed down by force. The so-called "destroy-piece-meal" operation is afoot.

The health of Kim Dae Jung has much failed. He needs proper physical exercise, but no chance of it is given except the "privilege" of meeting his family for ten minutes once a week. But, unable to move his body freely, he finds it hard even to come out to the meeting room. He gets in and out of his bed with difficulty. His weight has fallen considerably. He has lost appetite and caught a cold. International support is required even for his health.

They say the trial against Kim Ji Ha was held today at the Sodaemun Prison for some reason. Only his family was permitted for hearing and the defence lawyers for attendance. Wasn't it intended to carry out his final trial secretly in the prison without opening it to the public since the first hearing of the Declaration for Democratic National Salvation case had closed? We cannot know the reason. This "special court" will sit in the prison in future, too, it is said. Is it designed to render a terrible decision through a hasty conclusion of the judicial proceedings?

Two Fathers Ham Se Ung and Mun Jong Hyon jailed on account of the Declaration for Democratic National Salvation are said to have been brought before the court today as witnesses. The court session lasted for five hours. Both Fathers voiced against the attempt to frame Kim Ji Ha as a Communist. They said Kim Ji Ha had once asked their opinion upon his work now called in question. Then they asked back how it had been possible for him, a layman, to create a communist work after discussing its plot with priests. Another grave danger seems to be menacing Kim Ji Ha. Isn't it that the Pak regime means to commit another "thrice-cursed" criminal act and make it a fait accompli? I hope world conscience will pay attention to this and take action for saving him.

September 20, 1976

LAWLESS LAND

Heavy Undercurrent

*Is it because someone is crying bitterly,
Calling me by name pounding his chest,
In a stuffy board-floored room,
In Sodaemun, Suwon or Kwangju?*

This is a stanza crossed out from a certain poem. Such a content is invariably deleted by the KCIA and police or by magazine companies and publishing houses before its publication, and the writer is dismissed. However, the government pretends ignorance, saying it has never meddled in it. And it insists everyone is practising self-control in consideration of the prevailing situation.

There are huge prisons in Sodaemun, Suwon, and Kwangju. Someone is wailing there. Nevertheless, streets are crowded as usual with people who are getting along, wearing an unconcerned smile on their faces. Doesn't the wailing of conscience reach their ears? Are they carried away by the government's slogan, "Let's live in abundance?" The poets hearing that wailing are feeling sorry for these people. Then, they become downcast at the fearful thought that they themselves might be deaf to that wailing and swim with the stream of the people in the streets. Aren't there people who, unable to bear that wailing, have cast in their lot with those in prison and are now wailing together with them? A Christian poet who once said, "I am still walking along the lonely

path of an onlooker," is now in prison. Hearing that same wailing in the past, he recited as follows:

*You must have had no idea
Why you have trodden this path
Which you can't walk back,
Since you are only led to!*

*Why are all so self-willed?
Why do they make fool of me?
What is the good of going to the church?*

*Only out of vexation,
Do I take this path
Which I can't travel back.*

This is a verse recited one year and a half before by Rev. Mun Ik Hwan now imprisoned on the charge of drafting the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. It was written right after the execution (April 9, 1975) of eight defendants allegedly implicated in the People's Revolutionary Party. A few people may be able to hear the wailing embedded in this verse. The KCIA truck carrying the corpses was held up while fleeing and taken to the Catholic Church. The verse is a fantastic dialogue that passed at that time between the deceased and a widow. The last part runs like this:

*Torn is the heart
Of a woman wailing on the roadside.
A blue flame spurts from the vomica.*

*What on earth is the matter with me
When even the bones are reduced to ashes?*

The deceased who met the undeserved end is

appealing even after death. And those remaining alive keep wailing. But it is only the shout of those in power that reaches the ears of many people, echoing over the whole land. And the victory and supremacy of the power rulers appear to be ever more definite.

Li Chol Sung ousted Kim Yong Sam at last in mid-September and has become the head of New Democratic Party, the so-called nongovernment party. Can there be any nongovernment party where one man holds the power of life and death? Most people admit the KCIA plan to expel Kim Yong Sam has worked successfully. Li has begun to openly declare that they should forgo futile resistance and become a substantial, critical force. "An age of dialogue instead of struggle!"—this is said to be their slogan. Signs of the cruel age are seen everywhere. Notorious Li Hu Rak, ex-chief of the KCIA, who took the blame for the abduction of Kim Dae Jung, has made his comeback as head of the National Buddhist Society. According to a newspaper report, at the grand inaugural ceremony he had this to say:

"The south Korean Buddhists must unite themselves and demonstrate the nationality of south Korean Buddhism. Let's vigorously advance to glorify Buddhism, upholding the just cause of Buddha."

What on earth is Li going to say under cover of Buddhism? Is this the posture of south Korean Buddhism which has been utterly deprived of the right of supervision over the temples by the power elites since Japanese rule? A curse to these wicked people who try to come back to power through the agency of religion! Power can have its way under one-man dictatorship. That's why this country is so quiet.

The National Assembly has convened its 96th regular session after six months' recess since it sat only one week in March last. This time it will pass the budget bill, the revised additional budget bill, and the revised taxation bill and the like, I hear. It is as clear as day that all those bills will be carried as the government wishes. In the National Assembly the speeches are checked in advance.

These days the newspapers, driven to the limit of endurance, report that in the new fiscal year the burden of the wage earners will be 76.7 per cent more than this year, whereas the corporation business tax will drop by 23.8 per cent and the property inheritance tax by 55.9 per cent. For whom is this country governed? They say the Pak regime is so self-confident and powerful that it can do such a thing without hesitation. The rumour is also flying about that the Pak regime is making preparations for the opening of a new political phase, even running to such excess. But what is it going to do with the deep-seated resentment of the people? The telephone rates are said to go up four times in general. The New Democratic Party, not to lose its face as the nongovernment party, asked back: What is this? Didn't the Ministry of Communication earn net profits of 51,900 million *won* on the telephone business in the first seven months of this year? In this regard, it is said that money raked from town will go to the countryside to turn it into the permanent base.

Everything the bureaucrats do is to pass with impunity. The people are not allowed to disregard their orders. It is true that they have succeeded in creating such an atmosphere. Instead, there has formed a huge lump in the heart of this dissident nation. Newspapers report, though reservedly, about the defects of the Administration. A company member who earned 40,000 *won* by this side job is said

to have paid 9,000 *won* as the income tax. Worse still, he received a notice for additional pay of 179,302 *won* because of his failure to report the amount of his total income last February. A professor was notified to pay 215,944 *won* on the ground that he had not reported his income of 10,000 *won*, the honorarium for his guidance of a seminar. This order is imperative. Thus the deep-seated resentment of the people is simply smoldering.

This country is a lawless land.

Once the President reads out a sheet of a statement over the mike, the Constitution and all other laws become null and void from that moment. And no law steps in to safeguard the security of the people's life. Instructions of the government officials are as imperative as the orders of the sovereign. And they are as outrageous as his statements. This is by no means an ordinary bureaucracy. It is the almighty bureaucracy, nay, the pure ancient monarchy. What the dickens are they going to do with the piled-up resentment of the people who are forced to obey this monarchy?

Endless Ambivalence

They say the 27 lawyers who pleaded the case of March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation at the first hearing have also taken up the pleading of this case for the second hearing. They are under constant menace. There often comes an intimidating telephone call: "Do you want to be the second Chang Jun Ha?" One year ago, Chang Jun Ha reportedly died from fall while hiking in mountains. But now the KCIA suggests over the phone some different cause of his death. There is a lawyer

who was taken in during the first hearing and questioned for two days and nights through. The charge was that he spread the word that Pak Jung Hi had narrowly escaped terrorism on his way to the front area for inspection. The lawyer strongly demanded his interview with the man who had allegedly heard that word from him. Then there soon came the notification that it was decided not to take issue with it upon orders from the higher-ups. Now in heavy silence everyone only wishes that the public opinion and movements abroad will bulldoze the Pak regime. They are really helpless. Hence, I hear, they felt lumps in their throats at the grateful news that American churchwomen in Washington would demonstrate in front of the south Korean embassy every day for one month of October. This protest demonstration is said to culminate in holding a prayer meeting at the end of October with the attendance of over 1,000 persons. Even in sorrow, we are glad to hear such news. The sense of our being not alone moves us so much! If there is no sorrow, there must be no joy. Especially, when I heard the churchmen in prison were conceiving the "theology of ecstasy," I thought what an ambivalence it was. Do they go over from the theology of grudge to the theology of ecstasy? In reality they are behind bars and have nothing to enjoy.

Theirs must be a lofty religious ambivalence. On the other hand, however, there is quite sordid ambivalence that comes from the primitive instinct for life. People are in ineffaceable fear of the north. No one feels the possibility of aggression from the north, but this fear is being whetted extensively. The political power, using this fear as a means of prolonging its existence, is racking its brains to keep down the people's minds. It can't subsist without whetting fear in the hearts of the people. Yet, the

agitation of anti-communist sentiments only makes the people fear if they could defend the south with such an preposterous, repressive power. Under this terror-ridden rule, everyone is attacked by the feeling that he must not be called a Communist in any case. He is deeply conscious that he would be unsafe without underscoring his being anti-communist. He would be framed as a Communist in no time if he fails to overlook the wronged people and the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. The danger is greater for unknown people. It is anti-communist neurosis. In court the accused must strive to explain his not being a Communist rather than what he did and what he did not. But the trouble is that there is no machine which can bring one's mind to light. Now anyone can be readily branded as a Red by the KCIA of the Pak regime. The people of this country are all seized by this fear, this neurosis consciously or unconsciously.

Pak Jung Hi may be such a man who can't feel easy before controlling even the minds of the people. Since everything is abnormal in this country, all, high and low, are in an abnormal mental state. October 1 was the "ROK army day." The army founding anniversary was fixed as an off-day, that is, a holiday, from this year. No one can say against this under the system where the army is omnipotent.

On the "ROK" army day a military parade demonstrating its "invincible appearance" was held every year at the "May 16 Square" on Yoi-do Island. But this year, far earlier than the "ROK" army day, a queer rumour was flying about among the masses that Pak Jung Hi would not show up at the parade, and accordingly, there would be no parade. Concerning this, a journalist friend whis-

pered to me:

"Pak fears lest a coup d'état should break out. Though at present the government looks like most powerful and the masses seem to return to peaceful silence, he himself must be quite awake to the fictitious nature of this tranquility. Anyhow he is in constant suspense. They say the diplomatic corps in south Korea will be invited to the athletic meeting of the Military Academy this year instead of the annual military parade. All are jeering at this nonsense."

That rumour was well-founded. There was no military parade on the "May 16 Square," nor did Pak Jung Hi appear. This started various "wild rumours." Li Ju Il, Chief of the Inspection Council, who had been a general and a member of the main force of the so-called revolution, was apprehended. Also arrested was the director of the Kwangmyong Printing House who printed the revolutionary commitments at the time of the military coup d'état in 1961 and thus has come to run a large printing company. Suspicions have fallen mostly on the army-men hailing from North and South Hamgyong Provinces of the north, and a wave of suppression and purge has started against them, I hear.

There is another story behind this case. The present Chairman of the National Assembly has careers as an army general, ambassador to the United States and prime minister. Pak Jung Hi is suspicious of him, while capitalizing on his pro-American policy. During his recent American tour, he made a big blunder. Asked by a US Congressman, "What would happen in south Korea if an unforeseen mishap befell to the President?" he made a slip of the tongue saying "Chairman of the National Assembly would succeed to him." On this account,

he underwent a strict, shameful, unpleasant investigation at the Kimpo airport on his return trip. The Pak regime seems to be too much nervous about the US political situation.

They say Pak Jung Hi has such a chain of fits because his nerves are on edge. Furious is the strife within the system. Now it has become ever harder to save the political situation with a person like Pak. Everything is arranged to meet an immediate need of today, and morrow is nearly left out of account. Pak Jung Hi is doomed to ruin. Along with this wishful thinking, there is a word about the arrest of numerous servicemen from North and South Hamgyong Provinces and officers of major class above related to them within the army. And some entrepreneurs and plutocrats are under examination. They say all these events are correlated with the "ROK army day" function.

In south Korea the district of Hamgyong Provinces is often called "Alaska." So, the present case is given the name of "Alaska subjugation." The 1961 military coup is said to have been masterminded by the armymen from Hamgyong Province of the north and Kyongsang Province of the south. Right after this coup, there was the first "Alaska subjugation" to defeat the former's plot for a "counterrevolutionary" military coup. Now a sledge hammer is being brought down on the heads of their remnants, so to speak. A Revitalization National Assemblyman who had once been a general was also nabbed on a bribery charge. But bribery is a nominal charge and he has a hand in the above case, I hear. The Chairman of the National Assembly, too, belongs to this group. In this regard, the journalist friend whispered in my ear:

"It is everyday happenings among the power

elites to accept a bribe that much. Maybe he has fallen into a snare. He is also of 'Alaska' origin and lieutenant general on the retired list. And at the time of Syngman Rhee rule, he was once arrested and condemned to a penalty as the wirepuller of the assassination of the intelligence general who, as a Rhee's lineal relation, had held real power in the army. No one is now accessible to him. This is unusual for a bribery case. Even his family is not allowed to meet him. His case is treated more cruelly than that of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. But I don't believe they had made any seditious move. It comes from oversensitiveness, I should say."

The dissidents and young people are now silent, but their spirit is high. They can go into action anytime at the risk of their lives. But they calculate its effect for the present. In the teeth of suppression, they arrange their struggle in greater details and intensify comradely solidarity. A young man told me that there were neither factions nor dissensions among them.

There is one thing that has to be appealed to those abroad, as this young man told me. Noted personages and Christians are under the protection of the foreign public opinion. They are tried in open courts, allowed to meet their families and put to not so severe tortures. But the case is different with unknown persons and adolescents. They suffer terrible persecution. They are nearly forbidden to meet their families. Under this situation their grudge is smoldering. Those subjected to the worst persecution in prison may feel blue and shrink back for a time. But the young men have an endless source of their successors. It is impossible to watch all of their individual contacts. Even in their casual dialo-

gues they help each other to keep a clear conscience. Many stories lie hidden in the undercurrent. However, it is too soon to open them to the public now. I only hope you will believe in their being in good health. Those in power always take this into account. So, they are quite restless in minds, although they look strong.

October 3, 1976

THE STUPID AGE

A Sea Disaster

The temperature keeps falling and rising around zero. Infrequent cold rain gives the piercing chill. This year, winter has come early in November.

At the end of last October there was a storm on the East Sea and six fishing vessels were sunken and thirteen others lost. According to a newspaper report, as many as 408 persons were dead or missing in the disaster. Reading the news item, I somehow felt as if it symbolized the present situation in south Korea. Most of the fishing vessels are poorly equipped, but the extinction of fishes in the adjoining seas compels them to venture pelagic fishing. Their bold adventure may deserve praise, but their unreasonable act keeps people in suspense, placing them in constant fear that something will happen at any moment.

The question of illegal loan extended to the South Korea-Germany Beer has been the leading topic of conversation in the street. But it seems it is becoming a thing of the past. Whatever disaster may occur, there is neither solution nor measure in this country, as in the case of the 408 victims of the sea accident which once formed a topic only to be lost in oblivion. If an accident loses its value of freshness for a subject of conversation, no one does so much as give attention to it. And, similar accidents will recur some time. This country is,

so to speak, bereft of an important mechanism that wards off troubles and accidents and wrestles with them.

Even the government authorities themselves announced that the loan given to the South Korea-Germany Beer amounted to 7,162 million *won* and that *del credere* reserve to 5,291 million *won*. This loan involved the forgery of the documents on collateral securities and export credit, and there is no hope of drawing it in. South Korea's present output of beer is more than to consume in the home market. So, this South Korea-Germany Beer, it is said, was set up in Masan on condition of exporting its entire output. Its products had been sold with the label of "Izenweck" as in Germany.

However, they soon glutted the home market. They appeared first at the government-controlled tourist establishments and golf links. This revealed that the business was receiving a special favor from the government. Moreover, it turned out that the enterprise belonged to Pak Jong Gyu, a man of real power who had been the Blue House security chief until two years ago. He hails from Masan and has an influence in that area. And no wonder that the Izenweck was born in Masan. He enjoys the deep trust of Pak Jung Hi and is called the custodian of Pak's property. He is managing a mysterious enterprise even abroad. Now it is quite understandable why the South Korea-Germany Beer case has been hushed up soon after it made news.

This is a socio-political case which arises intermittently. Herein lies the reason for the people's irrepressible anger. Into the bargain, it is said there will be a sharp increase in taxes next year, in spite of the fact that too many cases of irrationality of this world have been revealed. The so-called urban populace including those in small local towns have

to pay the inhabitants' tax, which is said to rise by 50-100 per cent in the coming year. What is more, the present government can use violence at any time in collecting an excessive amount of tax. In 1976, for example, it collected the earned income tax 2.6 times more than the fixed amount. Nevertheless, everyone desists from requesting the re-examination of the assessment, for fear of being retaliated by some means. Of late, even newspapers are putting up such titles as: "Squeeze-and-get-as-much Exacting Tax System" and "Double, Treble Increase of Taxes without Consideration of Actual Living Conditions."

The Pak regime probably intends to build up a superficially lively society anyhow with the money squeezed by that means. The entrepreneurs are openly expressing their thanks to the government with provoking indifference to taxes or loans. At the same time, they say with a tearful face that their business suffers from financial difficulties. Maybe, this is because at the National Assembly even the assemblymen from the powerless opposition New Democratic Party asked what enterprise it was that had been furnished with funds to the tune of over 50,000 million *won*. The National Federation of Financial Experts made public that the enterprises accounting for 52.9 per cent of the total were making a huge amount of private loans at the rate of 2-6 per cent per month owing to the lack of working capital. They may be asking the Pak regime to take a "resolute step" like an emergency measure for freeze of the payment of private loans. Does this mean that there are no more those social conditions where a greater part of the private loans actually come from the group of entrepreneurs?

In the meantime, there has been an interesting

report revealing part of the National Assembly interpellations. A special concern is given to a businessman who is now in prison for having made a pile through illegal bank loan on the strength of power. Each day of his unconvicted detention is calculated in terms of 500,000 *won* and this sum is deducted from his fine. If he takes part in labour, the same amount of money is subducted. The NDP assemblymen asked where there is a case of a day's labour earning 500,000 *won* in this world. South Korea, however, may be such society in which those money-grubbers have so far gained more than 500,000 *won* a day through such extraordinary activities.

It may be proper to say that the poverty of this country and the gulf between the rich and poor there are beyond words. Even the government party said that 80 per cent of the people were too poor to pay taxes. And 81.6 per cent of the tax payers reportedly belonged to the low income category with a monthly income ranging from 30,000 *won* (about 62 dollars) to 100,000 *won*, 17.1 per cent to the middle classes with a monthly income of 100,000 to 300,000 *won*, and 1.3 per cent to the high-income earners whose monthly income exceeds 300,000 *won* (620 dollars). It is in this poverty that the so-called economy of south Korea is developing.

Meanwhile, there is no end of rumours about the flight of foreign currency in the hands of high-income earners. A yesterday's newspaper reported that the director of a knitting mill secretly remitted 200,000 dollars to his daughter in America, thereby dodging a tax amounting to 400 million *won*. He has been taken into custody only by ill luck. But, if he makes a gift of money to the power elite like the KCIA, he will soon be set free by special favor and be able to continue with his business. That is

why his current misfortune is ascribed to his neglect of payment to the power elite.

For all that, the government is clamouring about "cleaning up irregularities and corruption." The more this clamour sounds hollow, the intenser the despair becomes only. Answering my question as to whether the irregular and corrupt practices of payment to the authorities diminished, one friend in the business world said:

"The low-ranking officials seem to have become somewhat cautious. But, payment to power itself has never diminished, the total sum being increasing. And it becomes more intellectual. As power is concentrated on a single man and bureaucracy is everything, there may be no means for the people to check corruption."

Immense is the government's mechanism for expropriation of the people. In the case of uric fertilizer, the agricultural cooperatives take it at 76,000 *won* per ton and sell it to the peasants for 122,000 *won*, I hear. In export, it is sold at the price of 100 dollars though the production cost is 120 dollars. This is a "below-cost" export, so to speak. So the newspapers report that the peasants are saddled with debts in spite of a bumper harvest.

As in the case with the wrecked fishing vessels, only excessiveness and contradictions keep multiplying in all fields. Newspapers sometimes can give out the news of some criticism on the reality in the form of gossips, but cannot point out the contradictions of this regime. In a sense, it may be said that the Pak regime maintains its rule by drawing to the power's side those small number of people who can lead a decent life even in such a world. For example, many of those pressmen who have

been attacked by the advocates of free press are in constant fear that they too will be tried in the event of the collapse of the present regime. These small numbers of people who have to share their fate with the Pak regime like that are increasing their force in all fields, and this is how matters stand these days. This is a way to make the minority a privileged class, pool their strength and get them to participate in suppressing or manipulating the masses. The foundation of this society is really fragile.

It is not too much to say that the new leadership of the opposition New Democratic Party, split and redressed by the KCIA, belongs to this minority. "Dialogue in internal politics; diplomacy on a supra-party basis"—this is its slogan. It does not attack and criticize the present dictatorial system when popular leaders are suffering in prison under heavy penalty for their criticism of that system under which the Constitution and other laws are suspended by a shout of the person in power. And when it comes to diplomatic affairs, it manifests its full support to what this regime does from the so-called bipartisan standpoint. Without the present regime there cannot be the privilege of the opposition party head and an assemblyman. So, to keep this privilege, he has to defend the regime. This is the present posture of the opposition parties in this country.

Under these circumstances, only a small number of courageous persons think it imperative to take up the present regime as a fundamental problem. Has there really been an instance of history winning a genuine progress without challenging the existing structure itself? No, much less the case under this despicable fascism.

November 5, 1976

The Court Reopens

There is a rumour that a responsible person of the KCIA has been dismissed on the ground that his wife smuggled foreign cosmetics by a diplomatic voucher. Since he has done such a mean act in the name of a diplomat, it is apprehended that he will not hesitate to display so mean excessive loyalty even in the political dealings with the United States. But no south Korean believes there is a man in this country who can do such a large-scale responsible work without orders from Pak Jung Hi. Now Pak Jung Hi may be groping for the way to survive even in this situation. Words are going round that soon there will be a reshuffle of Cabinet ministers including the chief of the KCIA.

When the above-mentioned scandal was started, it appeared that those around power were going to treat it as lightly as possible, concluding that in the United States such a thing is a commonplace at the time of election. If one took it seriously, he would rather be watched as a defeatist, I am told. When such an affair is not taken seriously there cannot be any earnest self-transformation. One friend whispered to me a proverb, "A new-born pup fears no tiger." Now that such a trick has proved successful at home, it has been applied to the international arena, and a considerable result has been attained so far. On that situation, a friend made the following comment which tells the truth in a certain measure:

"Japan is probably more anxious to cover up her scandalous relationship with south Korea than she

was at the time of the Lockheed scandal. For there must be more serious problems in her relations with south Korea as in the KCIA case and in the dealings concerning a statesman. That may be why the Japanese government is directly protesting against the withdrawal of the US troops in lieu of the Pak regime which is now in no position to say anything due to the KCIA case. South Korea is now undergoing the gravest crisis in its relations with the United States since liberation. Its present relation, it is said, is only formal. Now, this bribery case may serve us in comparing the political structures of America, Japan and south Korea. The United States can lay bare the situation by itself. As for Japan, she tries to cover up as far as possible what other countries have disclosed for her, maintaining an unsteady attitude. The Pak regime is neither of the two cases. It is as immovable as a rock. This probably is why the Japanese call the Pak regime the most stable regime."

My friend added that the US side was in possession of a tape on which was recorded the plan for buying over US Congressmen, which had been worked out in the Blue House in the presence of Pak Jung Hi, and that Pak Jung Hi was much more irritated at this than the recent KCIA scandals in the United States. Is this not a warning that almost all important things hitherto planned and consulted by Pak Jung Hi have been known to the US side? Is it not a notice that other important affairs he is planning are also known? Hasn't Pak Jung Hi even planned to start trouble with the north and draw the United States in it in order to retain his regime? There is no end of speculation about this problem, too.

Today I must report, among others, the resumed

trial of the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation, that is, the trial of those persons concerned who stated that in south Korea democracy resided only in the courtroom. There had not been such a court of justice before, even at the time of the trial of the case of the March 1st Declaration of Independence in 1919. This court is one where those who are to judge are judged, where the accused fight for democracy rather than being tried. The present court of justice will shine long in the court history of south Korea. Rather than a court, it was a lecture hall for democracy. The second trial of the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation was thus held.

I should tell some more sad stories about the recent trials. A pastor is now in jail because he, as a revivalist, slandered the government during his sermon. The second hearing of his case took place from October to the beginning of November. The KCIA conducted backstage negotiations, promising that he would be let off if he kept silence in court. Thus, the elder pastors of his church called on him in prison and persuaded him. The result, however, was by no means the promised release. This fraud has evoked indignation among the people around.

Let me inform you of a more dreadful fact. I beg you don't think this is a groundless rumour. I cannot give a more detailed account for fear of persecution of the related persons, for which I feel painful.

The students who had been working in the slum area were arrested. They were forged into spies together with Japanese-born Koreans studying in south Korea. At present they are under heavy penalties endangering their lives. Here is the story about their confession of espionage.

They were interrogated at the Army Security Headquarters. Its torture cell in Sobinggo is far more horrible than that of the KCIA in Namsan. Unable to endure the brutal torture, the students yielded to the demand to make a spurious confession of espionage. For the torturers threatened them with immediate death in case they did not obey their orders. If anyone offered resistance, he would be given an injection to be prostrated.

In order to make them confess their espionage in court, they had to be given education. To make them speak about their entry into the north where they had never been, they had to be acquainted with the geographical features of the north. The education also covered from what communism was like to the way to consult maps and the knowledge of harbours, place-names and roads in the north. It continued for 50 days. They were forced to spend many hours in learning by heart the fact about espionage as told by the tape recorder. They recited it again and again. Their spy numbers were identical with the key numbers of the rooms where they had once lived. Then they were brought to court for the first trial. They looked like feeble-minded children. In court they "confessed" everything just as they had been taught and sentenced to capital or severe punishment.

However, their families believed in their innocence. So, they shouted to them to tell the truth at the peril of their lives when they were dragged into the court. At the court of second instance, they mustered up their courage and laid bare everything. They told that they had been tortured not only during examination but also when they were in the ward. It is said that they took such courage after hearing of the imprisonment of the leaders of the March First Declaration for Democratic National

Salvation. The realization of their participation in the common struggle and a faint hope that they would fight and win victory together with these leaders inspired them to come out of the depths of despair and physical weakness. It may be their last struggling to be human beings. What will become of their fate?

No little pathetic is a story of the struggle of Prof. Li Mun Yong imprisoned on a charge of involving in the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. He fought for improved treatment of prisoners. He continued his struggle, without eating except that sent in to him, and staged a hunger-strike for the last two days. On November 9, his lawyer met him, took notes of his demand and sent a 18-point "request" to the governor of the Seoul Prison. The written request was prefaced as follows:

As a standing rule to be observed by the prison staff for guaranteeing the minimum rights and interests of the imprisoned, and further, as a step toward the establishment of sound moral principle of democratic government in our country, the draft rule I demand herewith should include, at least, the following 18 points:

In his draft rule, there are the following lines: The prison rooms shall not be located in a place liable to be looked into through telescope or fired at; they be kept from rain, wind and rats; and pencil be provided. Particularly the following passages are really ironical:

The sacred Taeguk Flag shall not be hung in the wards.

"Our Oath" shall not be pasted on the wall if it is

without the term of democracy.

The "National Charter of Education," a political document, shall not be hung.

The inmates may not hear the "Song of the New Village."

There shall not be the so-called morning functions.

The imprisoned shall not be beaten or insulted.

The prisoners are entitled to consult civilian doctors.

From the above demand, one may realize how the spirit of Revitalization is torturing even the imprisoned people mentally. Li Mun Yong would feel many things as he is an excellent political scientist. Formerly, the prisoners were allowed to use sleeping-bags in prison. But, from this year it is prohibited on special orders from the highest level. Only two sheets of blankets are permitted to be sent in. In face of such a reprisal of power, he may be thinking how much abstract his political science has been. I sincerely wish him health and a superb conception of tomorrow's political science.

A new thought may be born in prison. And a genuine democracy may sprout out of there. In my previous letter, I reported that the churchmen now in prison for the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation are thinking over the "theology of joy." The 168-page statement of reasons for their complaint is a brilliant historical document, but to my regret, it cannot be quoted here. The south Korean Christianity side is making an appeal for the continuation of the trial of the democratic personages in the form of release on bail since "none of them would try to make his escape." It also issued a statement that it will pray "for these people in distress" and render utmost

support to them in a higher court. The struggle waged by the conscientious minority on behalf of the people is never daunted.

In the meantime, the KCIA's arrests continue of those who prayed for these imprisoned people. A young man was walked to the KCIA, I hear, simply because he had said in his prayer, "We've been deprived of everything we had." Trials are further simplified. Judgment is passed usually after hearing the case twice or so. It is particularly so in the second trial. It is feared that the second hearing of the case of the Declaration for Democratic National Salvation, too, will be concluded early. And it is hardly likely that Kim Dae Jung will be set free in all circumstances.

In the second hearing held on last November 13, too, there was also a strict limitation on observers. Each family was given seven tickets. The defence counsel demanded the adoption of witnesses. The prosecution rejected it, but the judge admitted Yu Jin O (former president of Koryo University and constitutionalist), Chon Gwan U (former editor-in-chief of *Tonga Ilbo*), O Se Ung (assemblyman from the NDP) and Chang Won Jong (professor of Tongguk University and political economist) as witnesses. As to other witnesses, he answered he would consider after the above four witnesses completed their testimonies. When Kim Dae Jung named Pak Jung Hi as a witness, there was a burst of laughter in the courtroom. He insisted that since he had also been accused of violating the election law, the court should call in evidence Pak Jung Hi who holds opposite opinion to him. This time, too, the defendants' families boycotted the admittance to the court. They issued a statement in protest against the unfairness of the first trial and against the situation in which the bearers of the admission tickets were

“watched, taken in, confined informally and even bulldozed.”

The court is expected to sit to hear the prosecution of Kim Ji Ha and pass a sentence on him late in November or early in December at the earliest. This is because his motion for rejection of the judge will be examined finally at the Supreme Court on November 22. The struggle in court will go on in the future, too.

A letter sent jointly by 135 US Congressmen in protest against the decision at the first trial of the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation is said to have been handed at last over to the Blue House which had been refusing to receive it before conceding the request of the US embassy. In this situation, I heard a shocking news of late. In the Japanese churches those who assume a different attitude toward ecclesiastical government, in league with a certain group in the south Korean churches, had planned to issue a queer statement against those who are concerned about the present troubles in south Korea, to the effect that the majority of the south Korean churches did not express their support and sympathy to those related to the case of the Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. But their plan, I hear, fell through.

What is their mentality like? Was it necessary for the struggle within the Japanese churches? What are the backgrounds of those Christians they were going to join hands with? How can Christian churchmen conceive such an idea as to oppose the release of the imprisoned people and throw mud at the struggle for the restoration of democracy in other country? I feel fear without knowing why. An elder of a church who passed me this news went on to say with a sigh:

"It happened a little more than one month ago. An unidentified aircraft reportedly flew into the defence perimeter of Seoul and anti-aircraft guns were fired to surprise the citizens. At the time, thirty-one were wounded and two killed. Rumour had it that it was a transport of the Northwest Airline. But everything is strange. The Central Broadcasting Station announced that it was an exercise. But, about the casualties, nothing was reported in the newspapers, of course. They even commit murder to strike terror into the hearts of the people. They warn them to keep away from the army. Real facts are not known, so this only increases uneasiness. In south Korea there is no more newspaper that can report such a fact. Precensorship is the reason. If a trouble arises owing to an article and thus the dispatch for sale at the market is delayed, it means a loss of profits. So such an article is removed in advance. This is commercialism. When printing a book, the printing house has to submit a galley-proof sheet to the authorities."

In the midst of this reality, we want to drink, shout and scold without reason. We want to talk the truth, above all. These days south Koreans often recall the following folk tale. There was a king whose ears were as large as the donkey's. He always hid them under his hat. One of his close attendants barely managed to suppress a laughter whenever he thought of the king's donkey ears. At last he made himself ill by overendurance. One day he boldly walked into a bamboo thicket and shouted out loudly, "King's ears are the donkey's ears." And he laughed heartily. Then, whenever the wind blew the bamboos cried in chorus, "King's ears are the donkey's ears." This is an apologue illustrating the present feelings of the south Koreans.

Concluding this letter, I would like to express my warm thanks for the news that these poor letters of mine have been translated into English and widely distributed in the world. I could not get to sleep also that night when I heard the spy story made up by torture. I have been writing already for a full four years out of sheer desire to merely inform the outside world of the present inhuman reality of south Korea. I little thought that it would last so long. How time flows! These stories about south Korea, I believe, go beyond the bounds of south Korea; they are the stories of brutality to be found in any place where man persecutes man. Therefore, I want to continue with this testimony of the stupid age so far as circumstances permit. For your support, I have nothing to give you in return but barren thanks.

November 15, 1976

EVEN IN THE RIGOROUS WINTER

Three Witnesses Say

The more I think of the Pak regime, the more incomprehensible this government becomes. The year is now going out quietly after a great stir caused by the President's statement that oil would well out in Yongil Gulf on the southeast coast. A promise was made to give the "entire picture" of a rosy dream around May this year, but it proved false after all. Currently the newspapers are giving shouts of warning against serious consequences to be brought by the jacked-up oil price. This seems to be arrangements for ascribing the possible recurrence of economic troubles simply to the oil shock.

Of course, Pak Jung Hi's false statement about oil effusion is free from the charge of violating Emergency Decree No. 9 although it has thrown the public into confusion. About it everyone must keep mum in any case. All he needs to do now is to wear a care-worn look over the fact that an additional sum of 170 million dollars of valuable foreign currency will go out if the oil price goes up 10 per cent. And things will go well with him if he, sympathizing with the Pak regime which, administering such affairs of state, is "reaping a small reward with great efforts," chimes in with its hatred against "oil power politics."

Have the people really consigned to oblivion all

of those numerous false rumours spread by the government? The Pak regime's false reports, like its corruption, are structural. They are embedded deep in the minds of the people to breed an indelible enmity, although the regime resigns itself to that, believing it is quite in the nature of things. It will turn into an energy of explosion one day.

Worse still, an acuter shortage of electricity is being felt with the coming of winter. All the reserve electric power is gone, and a limited amount of electricity is in supply. A scandal has been uncovered in the construction of a thermo-power station which has been undertaken so far. It is said that a foreign broker and domestic money clique have jointly built a power plant at immense cost to create the lowest generating efficiency and levy the highest electric charges in the world. The government rendered a great financial support to them. It purchased civilian stocks at 1,000 *won* each though the actual market price stood at 700 *won*. The inside facts reveal that the civilians holding the stocks of the electric companies in south Korea are high-ranking officials sponging on the present government.

Even under such condition the people of this country must keep silent. Any word of complaint about it is interpreted as detrimental to the security of south Korea. And an obstinate complainant is branded as a sure Communist or spy for the north. There now comes Pak Jung Hi's hot words, "Let's overcome the national trouble with spiritual revolution," beating the ear-drums of the bewildered people. This instruction is said to have been given by Pak Jung Hi to the "Autonomous National Congress for Unification" in the capacity of the chairman of this organization, a queer setup which has the President himself as its chairman and elects Pak Jung Hi President every six years. He urged "the entire

people to unite themselves firmly with singleness of mind and brace up the productive tone, each taking the lead in wiping out dissipation and irrationality from the surroundings in which he lives." Is this aimed to make use of the people's moral sense? Or is it designed to make the ruling elites themselves look like so much moral? Have they all become callous to the fact that the cloven hoof is shown everywhere? They must be arguing that the heart of the matter does not lie in political power but in dissipation, degeneration and immoderation on the part of the people.

Really incomprehensible is the stand of the Pak regime. It appears all its senses have been intoxicated. While clamouring for the clearance of corruption, it often does not care to cloak the sordid nature of its own. A few days ago a newspaper reported that the former Minister of Commerce and Industry was reinstalled as the chief director of the newly-established state-run corporation. About one year ago this man brought on public criticism because his wife was involved in a smuggling of jewels and his house produced a large sum of ready money besides jewelry during the domiciliary search by the police. Of course, this search was suspended upon orders from the higher-ups, and the policeman who had been bold enough to undertake that search was called to account for his rashness. Pak Jung Hi, making a personal monopoly of power, is thus dividing the national wealth among his men. Yet, his regime is making itself sacred and inviolable. Probably, for this reason it fears most the charges of Christianity which has put up an moral problem. A friend of mine said:

"According to an American, there are six forces for the Pak regime to fear—the army, opposition

parties, the press, students, workers, and the religious circles. At present, the last one alone is in motion while the rest is remaining mute. That is why Pak Jung Hi sleeps badly, gritting his teeth."

If a man is able to move even one part of his body, he is not dead. Likewise, if one gives a cry out of his moral sense, it must be to the credit of his heart which still throbs for a wonder. In this sense, it is only natural that those now standing trial for the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation should base their actions and thoughts on their religious belief. If the heart remains still beating, the blood will circulate through the whole body sooner or later. Students and army-men will not remain quiet indefinitely as they do now. Struggle in court is now being waged as courageously as ever. If the hearing is conducted without any restraint, a strict watch removed and the statements in court are made known freely, then there will be some unusual happenings which the Pak regime is really apprehensive of. I'm now going to refer briefly to the hearing of the case of the Declaration for Democratic National Salvation which took place on November 20.

Yu Jin O, a constitutionalist, who was the former leader of the New Democratic Party and once the president of Koryo University, was to appear in court first that day as a witness. But the judge read out message from him to the effect that he was unable to appear in court on account of illness. Then Prof. Chang Won Jong, the defence witness, who is known as a critical economist, gave disgusting answers to what were questioned. Here I give part of them.

Counsel: The Declaration for Democratic National Salvation says that the rural economy has been

sacrificed. What is your opinion about this?

Chang: The same goes for all other countries on the road of development. This is because industrial development facilitates economic progress. In our country, however, agriculture is developing as well.

Counsel: Do you mean that the Declaration has distorted the fact?

Chang: Yes, I think so.

Counsel: Our country has contracted large foreign loans and suffers an increasing deficit in export, too. Won't you explain this in concrete figures?

Chang: Majoring in theoretical economics, I'm not familiar with figures. But all the developing countries without exception are getting loans for development. There is no need to take issue with loans and deficit so seriously.

This sudden change in Prof. Chang's attitude was shocking. Many people thought there must be some grievous reason for it, but they could not repress their wrath. The questions and answers went on between this professor and the so-called defendants.

Kim Dae Jung: It is very nice of you to come here despite the claims of a busy life. But the loaned money must be spent properly, mustn't it? It is a debt to be paid off by the people. Aren't they making increasing debts even in export? At the expense of that precious foreign currency, they have launched a bribery offensive in the United States through a person like Pak Dong Son. This is now eliciting much criticism in American newspapers, isn't it?

Prosecutor (in a loud voice): It has nothing to do

with this case.

Counsel: I think it should be examined with this case since it took place following the March First incident.

Kim: I had taken issue with such irregularities at the National Assembly sessions from a decade ago. I am told that the US Federal Bureau of Investigation has been probing into that case since three years ago. It is allegedly said that agricultural production is showing an annual growth of four per cent, but fishery is included in this figure. How much has our agriculture really advanced? They say 500,000 people are flowing into towns from the countryside every year, but aren't most of them living in the slum quarters? How do you think of this?

Chang: (Silence.)

Rev. Mun Ik Hwan: Has that economic growth made allowances for inflation? And, isn't it important even in your theoretical economics to verify whether the income accruing from that growth is shared out to the people?

Chang: I can't answer as I've no statistics on hand.

Prof. Li Mun Yong: I'm glad to see you again in such a place as this. I'm not a statistician, but the statistics are always consulted in political science, my specialty, too. What statistics do you consult?

Chang: The government ones.

Li: Aren't there other statistics? You should have collated them. If you are devoid of such conscience and sincerity, you can't be called a scholar. We've been forced to stay in prison for eight or five years. So, we have placed our hope on your testimony, and how can you make such irresponsible remarks?

Chang: (Silence.)

Fr. Ham Se Ung: Don't you think that not only the economy but the people's morality are important?

Chang: Yes, I think so.

Ham: Expropriation, corruption, unfair distribution, bribery—all this do you like?

Chang: (Silence.)

The glum, troubled face worn by Prof. Chang seemed to be engraved on the minds of the hearers. He might be symbolizing the images of many south Koreans under the present despotic rule. These persons are called the silent majority supporting the Pak regime. It is said that Prof. Chang has been examined by the KCIA on account of slips of the pen and tongue. And he is threatened with expulsion from his university. In the afternoon court session, the witness stand was taken by O Se Ung, Assemblyman from the New Democratic Party, and Chon Gwan U, former editor-in-chief of *Tonga Ilbo*. Let me introduce what they said:

Counsel: The Declaration for Democratic National Salvation notes that now the Pak regime finds itself forsaken by the Western camp, too, although it has tried to improve its relationship with big countries only, while neglecting its relationship with the third world. What do you think of this?

O: When most of the third world countries are taking exception to imperialism, our country has given weight to the countries being decried as imperialist. From last year it started working on the third world, but it falls behind north Korea.

Kim Dae Jung: I'm told that south Korea has been

deserted by democratic countries, too, and that it is called in question even in US Congress.

O: So it is.

Kim: Is it true that south Korea is being isolated internationally?

O: It's true.

Kim: I clamoured against the dispatch of troops to Vietnam, particularly against the dispatch of regular armed forces. The dispatch of troops has worsened the relations with the third world. My criticism was designed for the country and for security. The government should have accepted such criticism, shouldn't it?

O: Yes, it should. North Korea took issue with the suppression of human rights in south Korea also at the meeting of the Interparliamentary Union which was held in Tokyo in 1974 with the participation of delegates from 67 countries.

Prosecutor: You had better not touch on a state secret.

O: Don't make a fool of me. I know how to deal with state secrets. I need none of your instructions concerning this. That is not a secret since it is known to the delegates of 67 countries.

Kim: Suppression of human rights won't be helpful to national security, will it?

O: It endangers national security.

Kim: It has made us face a court trial. Doesn't this proceeding itself imperil this country?

O: Criticism is a symbol of democracy....

Counsel: What about a gag on the freedom of speech? Does it exist?

Chon Gwan U: It is not so simple to answer this question. I think, the New Democratic Party is condemning corruption at the National Assembly. There is freedom this much. But criticisms

of the government in the context of state leadership are not permitted. In this sense, there is no freedom of speech. I think the mission of speech is to lay bare corruption and rouse public opinion. But there is no such freedom.

Counsel: Do you mean that there's a gag on the freedom of speech?

Chon: Facts are reported, but criticisms on them are prohibited and repressed.

Counsel: At the first hearing, the prosecutor insisted that our country was enjoying the freedom of speech since there were various kinds of newspapers and radio and TV broadcasting stations. What is your opinion of this?

Chon: A number does not afford evidence of the freedom of speech. There are hardly any newspapers with opposing views. They are all wearing the same face, reporting news only.

Prosecutor: Do you really mean there is a gag on the freedom of speech?

Chon: Haven't I already declared it's hard to say. But in a word, there is no freedom of speech in the light of its mission, I tell you.

Chon's answers were serious, but as they sounded somewhat sarcastic about court, occasionally they excited the laughter of hearers.

Everyone conversed with a serious attitude although he knew that every court decision would be made out of political considerations and that his speech would serve no purpose.

Interpellations

It is said that 70 per cent of the judges and prosecutors in the courts of south Korea are in their thirties. This is a grievous fact. The reason may be that a host of judicial officers, conscientious and able, have become lawyers, unable to keep themselves any longer in the corrupt courts, staging politicized trials. The case of the Second Declaration for Democratic National Salvation was tried by such young judicial officers in Kwangju, South Cholla Province, too. Thus the two cases of the Declaration for Democratic National Salvation were heard on the same day on the ground of preventing the defense counsels and observers from getting together.

In the trial in Kwangju, too, admission tickets were issued. At first 40 tickets were allotted to the families of the imprisoned pastors. The families refused to take them. They got 100 the next day. Some 600 people were gathering in the courtroom. This meant more than a half of them were what was called officials who were admitted without tickets. It was said that of the five defendants, one would be tried separately for some unknown reason.

Four pastors did not look back probably because they were overwhelmed by strain and horror. "Look behind, please. We've come down from Seoul," said aloud the pastors and missionaries from Seoul. Only then did the defendants pick up their courage and wear smiles, I hear. They might be bereft of due qualities for a human being in the outside world, as each of them had been locked up in a solitary cell in a dreadful, threatening atmosphere. These

four pastors had been under the close watch of as many as 16 prison guards. That was because they had committed a political offense as the Pak regime insists.

They had been almost kept from lawyers. So, at the beginning of the trial the counsels complained that they could not prepare the pleading. The chief judge's reaction to this complaint was extraordinary. "Why didn't you inform the judiciary of it? Don't you defendants mind putting off the trial of this case on that account?" At this, the counsel gave the following reply with a sigh:

"We've been shown how incompetent we are under the rule of power. After going through due formalities, we went to the prison and waited there all day long, only to return with no result. We are utterly powerless under existing law. Apart from formal laws, there are hosts of informal laws. And even these formal laws are not executed."

"He's right." "Amen!" These words flew out from among the hearers. The pastors in the dock, too, responded to them, saying: "We don't like facing a trial in court like this. We want a fair trial. We don't mind its delay." Some 300 believers who were staying outside the courtroom, unable to enter it, clashed with the armed police who were holding them in check. They shouted: "Can the Revitalization Constitution be a law also?" At last they started marching towards the Kwangju YMCA to have a prayer meeting there. It was a kind of demonstration. The police arrested six leaders. This made the 300 believers immediately proceed to the police station. Thus, the six leaders were set free, and a pathetic prayer meeting was held at the YMCA Hall.

My friend who had observed the trial concluded his report with the following words:

“The chief judge said to the defence counsel: ‘All are paying attention to me. But I’ll properly deal with the case if you give me an active help without bearing any grudge against me.’ This is a double play designed to save his face at a trial of political colour. As the pastors of rural churches, they received warm support from the believers. I’m told that although the pastors were jailed, the churches are drawing rather bigger crowds. Those who stopped church attendance before have resumed it. The black evil claws may soon be stretched also to this smile-provoking scene.”

Also interesting in many senses was the public trial of the case of the March First Declaration, which was held in Seoul on November 27. The court sat at 10:20 a.m. and hot words flew from the start as the bench had rejected the motion for defence witnesses. What is more, they were going to simultaneously handle the case of Kim Dae Jung’s election law violations, a political case which had nothing to do with the case under trial. The judge tried to hold the bar down. But the following statement of the bar was something overwhelming the court:

“We are going to make a few words about the witnesses who appeared in the last hearing. When asked to be a defence witness, Prof. Chang Won Jong told me that, though he really wanted to plead for the accused, he wanted to be excused from it, because he was notified by the Ministry of Education last August that he was an unreliable person. So did we understand, but on the court day he breezed in and stood on the witness stand to make

a statement which was quite contrary to what he had written or spoken before. This is above our comprehension. Mr. Yu Jin O had told me that he would appear in court as a witness. But, strangely, he is said to have sent in a written notice of his absence addressed to the judge. This is also above our comprehension. Greater pressure is applied on those with admission tickets. They are prevented from coming or held back on their way to the court. At the entrance of the court they are forced to stamp uncalled-for seals and put down their names after being checked up with their resident registration cards. They are told not to say it to others. Do you expect a fair trial in these circumstances?"

The defence counsel pointed out the fact that at the time of the first hearing all the witnesses it had put up were rejected and that every kind of pressure was brought to bear upon it subsequently. Yet, it added, it expected the wise decision of the judge, only to find him to be a distrustful man. The trial of the case of the Second Declaration for Democratic National Salvation in Kwangju was not fair either. A newsman observed it but didn't cover it. The defence counsel said that as some hopes were laid only on the Seoul trial, it was desirable for the court to hand down a fair decision after testimony was given by more of witnesses. It proposed to produce Prof. Chang Won Jong's paper as a written testimony. But this proposal was flatly refused by the prosecutor who declared: "It's of no use. His statement in court is enough."

That day the church leaders in Japan, Europe, America and Southeast Asia who had attended an international Christian meeting observed the court session for some time. That was a great encourage-

ment. The government was ridiculous enough to bring them to the court by its cars in an attempt to put up a show of fair public trial before those foreign guests. The international meeting sent an open letter to Pak Jung Hi. I have got a copy of its English version which reads in part:

“The signers to the March First Declaration are enjoying worldwide support and praise for their patriotic spirit and Christian faith. We believe their implication in this case was intended for social welfare based on the Christian views. Hence we demand the release of those implicated in the March First case who are now being tried in the courts of Seoul and Kwangju. At the same time, we demand the release of Kim Ji Ha. Particularly, we urge the south Korean government to show special concern for the students and to give amnesty to and set free those who are convicted and imprisoned, simply because they followed their conscience.”

My sincere gratitude goes to all the friends of the world churches. The presence of foreign friends on the scene of violation of human rights to give such encouragement will add a new page to the history of the world churches. In this connection, the Pak regime holds this view: “The foreigners’ letter concerning south Korea is unreasonable in the light of international law.” And it describes one pinning hope on this letter as a truckler, calling it an “intervention in other’s internal affairs.” “The policy,” it insists, “will not be swayed by their pressure.” But it would be right to say that apparently the Pak regime has been heavily swaying because of the pressure from Carter since his assumption of office.

Voices critical of the state policy rose a bit higher for some time at the National Assembly

Auditing Committee meetings, and newspapers gave a short account of them. From the opposition parties was heard even such a bold voice as asking why it was impossible to converse with those imprisoned on a charge of the March First Declaration, when the government claimed to seek for a north-south dialogue. The fact that Fraser and other US Congressmen had asked the south Korean government to take important measures, too, was revealed when the Opposition members inquired into the government's relations with the United States. It is already known to the people that south Korea-US relations are in danger. My journalist friend made this comment:

“The real state of affairs screened by the government is being revealed little by little and magnified in the restless minds of the people. Power is being speedily alienated from the people. If this power is forsaken even by the United States, it will lose almost all of its foundations. It has insisted that its suppression of human rights and democracy is aimed at the preservation of security. But, on this very account, it is now losing the US support. Pleading security, it is losing the greatest power needful for this security. The Pak regime's undemocratic mode of existence and its policy for prolonged existence have become the biggest foe of the security about which it has so much clamoured. And yet it bragged that the United States would give it support. But this myth has been shattered. The National Assembly of south Korea, the Opposition in particular, have become much critical since Carter was elected President. Still this Opposition, though despicable, is better than nothing.”

True, various reports leak out of the National Assembly these days to brisk up the newspapers in

a measure. Unfortunately, this may much awake the people from their hibernation. Of course, it is still impossible to blame the cult of Pak Jung Hi in the interpellations. One Opposition Assemblyman did not forget to use caution in offering some criticisms on the Prime Minister and other officials below him only after spending much time in praising Pak Jung Hi himself. My journalist friend revealed the latest episode related to the personal cult of Pak Jung Hi:

“One conscientious trade union leader at a textile mill was arrested on account of that cult. A man who had found his way into the mill by the agency of the government waywardly changed the superintendents of the weavers’ dormitory. When that was called in question, this man said he had done it upon orders from the President. At this, the union leader snapped: Do you mean the President is such a person of leisure as to butt in such a trifle thing? Thus he was charged with having insulted the President. The union members are now fighting for his release. But the police is affecting ignorance, saying God knows who had taken him and where.”

The materials revealed in the interpellations alone are enough to make one worry over the future of this country. In the past one odd decade since the Pak regime came into power, the tax burden of the people in the state budget swelled 54 times. Wage income at present is no more than one tenth of that in developed countries. The average monthly wage of workers stood at 46,000 *won* as of 1975. And the workers paid below 20,000 *won* hold 30 per cent of the total. But it is reported that a huge sum of money amounting to 400 billion *won* has been loaned out preferentially to a single finan-

cial clique. All banks of south Korea are under the control of the government. The following complaint was put in:

“A written petition was submitted to the National Assembly by a person who had sold his hill for 280,000 *won* to pay school expenses but had been asked to pay an incredible sum of 1.5 million *won* as the transfer income tax. One friend had sold his estate for 2.5 million *won* and the transfer income tax amounted to 2.3 million *won*.”

Fixed property dealings are in the doldrums. In contrast to such onerous tax imposition on the common people, unlimited “special favors” are being bestowed on the big entrepreneurs in the forms of low-interest loans, reduction and exemption of internal taxes allegedly designed for the obtaining of foreign money, and assistance in export by the medium of custom duties and charges for public utilities. Such assistance through the medium of taxation, customs and charges for public utilities alone amounted to 48 per cent of the total sum of internal tax in 1976, I hear. This is the very policy of pauperizing the people through export.

Worse still, the greater part of the major buildings in Seoul are in the possession of foreign capitalists. It is said that the Hanguk Industrial Development Company operating in partnership with Japan serves as a site of shady activities for Japan's pro-south Korean elements. A huge harbor construction project is under way on the east coast in order to develop relations with Japan. A big munitions factory is reportedly rising up on a site of 12 million *pyong* in Changwon, Kyongsang Province. But it has nothing to do with the south Korean army. They say the United States and Japan will go into a large munitions business there to avoid

internal criticisms. It may be intended to give an impression that the weaponmongers are the south Koreans. It is just like having isolated south Korea from the third world by mobilizing the south Korean troops to the anti-communist front of Vietnam. As the Pak regime dispatched troops to Vietnam, it obtained the firm support of the United States. What are these big countries going to do with south Korea? And every south Korean is suffering from the evil consequences of all the scandals. When south Koreans were fighting so hard against the Pak regime, these big countries were engrossed in repressing them and backing that regime. But now they have disclosed the scandals of the Pak regime to make them an image of every south Korean. An American friend told me that there was a possibility of evoking disgust for the south Koreans among Americans.

There is something I want to say to the Japanese friends. They once praised the young officials of south Korea, saying there were excellent brains and technocrats in south Korea. But now they must have seen what they are like. Now they will see that these technocrats who had come back from the United States were the very ones who were used as tools in buying off the US ruling circles and that they were given no authority above that. The south Korean ambassador to the United States is a man of that sort. In private talks, however, they would put on an air of a conscientious intellectual, mouthing their awkward, painful positions. But it was an expression of despicable dual personality. It is said that the south Korean ambassador to the United States has recently tendered his resignation and is now complaining of its rejection. How is it possible for a servant of the fascist regime to preserve his conscience as a popular intellectual?

The people now doing battle with the Pak regime are by no means extremists. They do only writhe, unable to keep up the most normal conscience, the minimum of intellect in a certain sense. Let me say to the Japanese friends. Many persons reflectively admitted that in the past they had suffered great misfortunes, unable to keep the warlords from running riot. If the present wanton economic intrusion of Japan is not held back, the same misfortunes of the past will befall again. They say elections are near at hand in Japan. I wonder if the elections will result in bringing forth strong power that fears the exposure of the past south Korea-Japan cohesion under the influence of the KCIA scandal in the United States. Waves of misfortunes swept over Korea and China in the past while the Japanese were assuming an ambiguous posture. Now aren't more definite and formidable misfortunes breeding in the same fashion in an atmosphere as symbolized by the unaffected amusement of the Japanese filling the restaurants of Seoul? Their happy voices flowing out of those restaurants may be suggesting that they are enjoying the blessings of peace under the Pak regime like their own.

December 2, 1976

Declaration for Democratic National Salvation at Seoul University

A Korean proverb says, "A squid puts a fish-monger to shame." This means a wretched-looking tiny fish injures the name of a fish shop. For the south Koreans, the same may be said of the scandals committed by the Pak regime against the US

political circles. How could such a pack of traitors come into being in the 30-year history following liberation? It is a matter to be lamented as the fate of this nation.

Only now are the people getting the vague idea that there must be many serious problems in the south Korea-US relations. Newspapers are still reconciled simply to giving a brief account of the vacuous conversations between the foreign minister and American ambassador under the title, "Pending South Korea-US Problems Discussed." The people had the mixed feelings of expectation and worry at the thought that something would come on with Carter's return. It is said that Amnesty International has fixed 1977 as a "Year of Conscientious Offenders." It seems that a worldwide movement will be staged to demand the release of the conscientious offenders who did not resort to violence. This was reported on December 10 as the resolution of the Day of the Declaration of Human Rights.

It is reportedly said that marking the Day of Human Rights, the south Korean government will issue its statement and hold functions. What a folly! It seems to me that in his statement the minister of justice admitted in a measure the fact that political power is infringing upon the rights of the people. He said: "Genuine freedom and human rights can be enjoyed only by one who defends them for oneself." At a meeting marking the Week of Human Rights the prime minister stated that in south Korea the way human rights should be cannot but be different from that in other countries since it has to resolutely smash the aggression of the north and defend its security. He asserted that any demand for security in disregard of this is no more than a "mere argument divorced from reality." Indeed, it was a meeting attended only by government min-

isters and held in the absence of people and human rights.

Recently on the occasion of the International Day of the Declaration of Human Rights, a paper carried an editorial, unable to stand such comments on human rights offered by power politics. It wrote: One should not close one's eyes to the march of history towards the age of human rights; if the human rights are left in the shade, it will also cause a crack in the "formation of national unity which is much advertised these days;" infringement upon personal rights will lead to endanger "social and national security;" and therefore, with such an understanding of human rights the plan for the present and future of the country should be worked out. The editorial said what should be said, though passive and general.

Such a world-known case as the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation may be used as a barter in the relations with the United States. But as far as the students' cases are concerned, it seems that convicts are released far between at the expiration of their terms of imprisonment or on tickets of leave. In such a case, some important official of the KCIA would show up on the previous day and browbeat the outgoing prisoners, asking if they still have any opposition to the Revitalization Constitution. Then he would drop the stock remark that if they fail to behave themselves properly after release they will be jailed again in no time. At such a time they would get a sealed word of advice from their friends to the effect that they had better answer as they think fit anyway since they will be able to resume battle in the future when a chance comes their way. But it is said that some youths reject such advice and remain in prison of their own accord. An elder friend said

to me:

"The provisional release of Mr. 'X' was cancelled thanks to his tenacity. His conscience did not permit him to yield to the demand of the KCIA. Even the decision of the ministry of justice according to law is nullified with the visit of a KCIA cadre. Mr. 'X' is said to have laughed at the threat to the cancellation of his provisional release. His answer was clearcut: "I'll share the anguish of Kim Ji Ha and help him in my heart. Young schoolgirls imprisoned as political offenders seem to be assuming the toughest posture. It must be linked with the Oriental women's view of constancy."

They say Kim Dae Jung is faring a bit better in prison. He is keeping a spacious cell capable of internment 21 prisoners. This is a lenient treatment in view of the answer of the Minister of Justice at a National Assembly interpellation that an average of 3.8 prisoners, 7 at the maximum, are being confined per *pyong*. His cell even keeps a briquet brazier to heat food, and a bed. A rumour has it that those convicted on the charge of involving in the case of the March First Declaration are receiving a similar treatment. They say Prof. Li Mun Yong's fasting for better treatment is also proving effective.

As the people have been reduced to being utterly powerless, external pressure alone can have some effect on power. That is why the Pak regime brands any intellectual who speaks to foreign reporters as a truckler. Solidarity with conscience abroad must be raised as the greatest practical problem in the strategy and tactics of the struggle against the dictatorship. The struggle of the American negroes for human rights, too, should have been unable to develop if there had not been the criticisms of world

conscience on the United States. Such joint struggle alone may bring forth an amicable south Korea-Japan relationship in history as well as their cooperation for a new age.

A few remarks should be made on the convention of the south Korean churches for free missionary work as an event that took place following the return of Carter and the case of the KCIA scandal in the United States. This convention drew big crowds, and a big turmoil broke out when a tapping apparatus set by the KCIA was discovered. But it was the sponsors that were dragged to the KCIA. It seems that the display of the unity of churches at that convention made the KCIA restless. This time, however, those taken in rather took a tough attitude, pressing: Who are really endangering national security? Is what Christianity is doing dangerous? Aren't such acts harmful to national security as of installing a tapping apparatus in a meeting place of Christians and of scheming to buy over the US political circles through a man like Pak Dong Son, throwing the world into combustion? Asked these questions, a KCIA cadre is said to have had no option but to remain silent. The new KCIA Director has been appointed. He is the man who, as Commander of the Army Security Headquarters, once put a churchman to torture to brand him as a political offender. Everybody is apprehensive of what this cold-hearted man will do in defence of power.

The incident which broke out again on December 8 at Seoul University is also related with the political situation obtaining in the United States with regard to south Korea. It happened at the time of the term examination. One student entered the library and started reading aloud a Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. Some 300 students gathered there in a flash. Their number grew more and more. Pro-

fessors tried to stop them. But students shouted, "Heaven forbid! We are boiling with rage. Don't stand in our way!" Thus the declaration was read out.

More than 30 students were taken to the KCIA. But five hours later they were set free, except only two students who were expelled and jailed. A few students are said to be in hiding. A young man broke another startling news which must now be known in Japan, too.

"When arresting students, a KCIA operative bundled them into an NHK TV car by mistake. The NHK special correspondent was quick enough to snap every scene with his camera. The enraged KCIA man snatched off the camera and dashed it to the ground. The machine broke to splinters."

The students yelled: "Abolish the Revitalization Constitution!" "Save the expelled students!" "Tell the truth of the bribery scandal!" They also demanded: "Break up the Student Defence League!" "Remove the consultation and guidance room!" Under the unctuous name of a guidance centre, this room serves in reality as a KCIA branch office at the university. If the KCIA operative keeping that room notifies the head of the students' office at the university that such and such student should be disposed of, the latter accepts it as an urgent matter and expels the student forthwith. Only then does he report this fact to the president of the university and to the Ministry of Education. A few professors and clerks in charge of guidance keep a blacklist of the students, call out any students needed by the KCIA and hand them over to it. Hence the students demanded the removal of that KCIA branch office. They sang, "The Song of Justice" at the time. It runs:

*Justice and Courage are the life of youth.
Our banner is flying high above our heads.
Hail our youth's spirit of defending the country!
The dawn is breaking over this land,
Where the thirty million people shed blood
for freedom,
Following the brave warrior who led and
defended this nation.*

Nobody knows who wrote this verse, but it is now being sung confidentially among the young men. That day, too, somebody broke into this song and all joined him to produce a majestic chorus. It had been imbedded in the hearts of all before they were aware of it. They might have wished to follow after their elders now put behind the bars. Theirs too was a "Declaration for Democratic National Salvation." So, it was the third Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. Their declaration opened with this line:

The fellow students!

The fellow students who have always risen up resolutely whenever the fatherland is at stake, barely keeping their pulse of the March 1st Movement and April Revolution beating!

The fellow students who have spent their youth in the flames of the anti-imperialist, anti-dictatorship struggle! We have been called by history once again.

Now the sky is dark and the earth is frozen over. But no one speaks the truth. Everybody is cowardly keeping silence. Mustn't we relentlessly indict this abominable reality?

Then the declaration condemned the dark reality, saying, "A countless number of righteous people have been imprisoned." It went on to declare:

Why does a man with a limited life try to com-

mand the unlimited history?

Why does a man with a limited wisdom try to trample down the freedom of unlimited vital force?

Why does a man with a limited competence try to keep the limitlessly changing security in his sole charge?

Why does a leader of limited personality try to permanently dominate the infinite government of the people?

That is not all. The present regime ruined the pride of the Korean nation by greasing the palm of the US top elite. It poured tens of millions of dollars into the hands of Ford, Kissinger and many US Congressmen, simply asking for their support to the present government.

Recalling the past of the Pak regime, the declaration said: "The immorality of this regime is not recent occurrence." Repeatedly breaking its promises to the people, it "cooked up the Revitalization Constitution by force of tanks and troops." This Constitution must be "resolutely and totally negated." The solemn declaration closed with these words:

The movement for restoration of democracy, which will add a new page to the history of our nation, breaking the silence before a storm, is surging from the foot of Mt. Kwanak-san.

Holding high the torch of justice, freedom and truth, we swear:

They kept demanding the repeal of the Revitalization Constitution, the freedom of the campuses, and the official announcement of the scandal that had occurred in the United States. The campus of Seoul University lies at the foot of Mt. Kwanak-san. Read-

ing these lines extolling the spirit which is so deep as to be considered religious, I couldn't keep back my tears. Won't the day come when this spirit, this valor, will grow soundly and they will participate in making the history of this country in that spirit? Even thinking that the future of the fatherland is bright, I felt ashamed of myself without knowing why.

Inevitable Limits

Man really has his limitations. The same is true of the power of the Pak regime. It is no longer possible to keep the image of south Korea at home and abroad with such a man like Pak Jung Hi. "The problem is how that power will cave in." This word starts haunting the minds of south Koreans. If it had been the Syngman Rhee regime before 1960, the Pak regime should have already fallen. The latter is now only exercising the utmost vigilance as it saw the former's fall. Though the Pak regime is making a show of power towards the United States too, veiling its anxious state of mind, it flatters itself that it would regain US support if only it feigned relaxing the suppression of the human rights, even a little. It also takes such an optimistic view that a bluffer might be soothed or treated resignedly as in the past.

Once there were high-flown words: "Export has increased again" and "Business has returned to prosperity." But they have turned out to be empty. The export of textures is showing a serious drop. A subcontract sewing mill is suffering a heavy blow. Papers report that factories in short-time operation, suspension or closedown are appearing in succession. Coupled with the strain on electricity, the manage-

ment of a nylon factory decided to start operations from 2 p.m. This decision came from a calculation that the factory would bring the same profit as before since its female workers are paid by the hour. But there was a big row as the female workers staged a strike. This also reveals the limit of the system of the Pak regime.

In order to strike terror into the hearts of the citizens, anti-aircraft guns are often fired on the plea that aircraft has intruded inside the defence perimeter of the Blue House. But there is no official explanation of what sort of aircraft intruded there and why. Citizens' patience with such frequent sphinx-like remarks also seems to have reached its limit. A sad rumour is rife that in the gunfire in mid-October too, many people were killed and more people wounded. There is getting around the impression that the present regime is a murderous regime. They say 22,000 shells were fired. It was a waste of 15 million *won*. Worse still, many lost their precious lives. This affair seems to have been much debated at the National Assembly too. But newspapers, in the form of a reply to National Assembly interpellations, only carried the national defence minister's statement, "We've reflected on the October 14 case of the anti-aircraft firing, studied versatile overtures and taken some measures for lessening the casualties of citizens."

The radios reported that act of murder as a training while the newspapers preserved a perfect silence about it. But this sanguinary ruling method for terror politics too seems to be reaching its limit. As yet, no one dares to protest against even the loss of lives. But this tactic, too, has become hardly available.

It appears those in power are also at unusual odds with each other. A retired general who had once

been in the power elite was arrested on suspicion of his taking a bribe. At court trial, however, he exposed that he had been tortured in prison for quite a different reason. Suffering torture for 18 days, he was asked: "Who is going to become the President next time? Give the names of your friends!" Driven to the end of endurance, he named all of his friends. It is said that the name list includes some of present assemblymen and former Cabinet ministers. Word gets about that the investigation was designed to sense the victim's relationship with a man who would possibly rise to power in place of Pak Jung Hi with the backing of the United States.

In an effort to prevent a probable power ruler from amassing his strength, they torment even plutocrats suspected of having contacts with him. The president of the Koryo Pelagic Fishery Company who participated in Pak Jung Hi's coup as a civilian in the past and later became a plutocrat has been detained and is now facing various charges. This case is now being highlighted in newspapers which deal with his malpractices in serial form. Now this man cuts such a sorry figure although he, running a small printing house at the time of Pak Jung Hi's coup, printed propaganda leaflets with the funds he had raised and later, as a reward for this service, became a man of influence. After the coup almost all the prints were concentrated on his company under the pressure of the government. This state of affairs within the ruling power must be construed as an evident sign of its downfall. Noteworthy is the following remarks of a young man who informed me of the case of the Declaration for Democratic National Salvation at Seoul University:

"Ever since Carter's return, KCIA operatives have not failed to shadow suspectable students. But this

time they couldn't sense the uprising at Seoul University beforehand. They are castaways. They are mere salaried men and do not have the slightest sense of fidelity. Of late in particular, they have become somewhat unsettled as there is a sign of change in the situation. As opportunists to the quick, they soon change according to the direction of the wind. Both atmosphere and treatment in prisons too must be changing these days. About what time of next year will Seoul University be open again?"

It appears the ruling power has reached the limit of its ability also in purchasing the fidelity of its low-grade officials. Who knows but that the public sentiments will undergo a complete change while Pak Jung Hi is carried away by the melody of the "Paeon to the Fatherland?" Ten young members of the opposition party, who are closely related to Kim Dae Jung, are said to have been arrested. People have a strong wish that there will not be such insanity on the part of the ruling power as of causing the bloodshed of citizens when it comes to ruin. A journalist friend informed me of the following top secret:

"There was a press report that all the army commanders met suddenly on the 6th. As a meeting which reportedly 'swore to smashing the possible surprise attack of the north on the first line' as in the past, it was too ostentatious, wasn't it? Moreover, not Pak Jung Hi but the national defence minister presided over that commanders' meeting of the whole army, for a wonder. They say there was a good reason for all this. A really important incident had occurred. On the previous day, Pak Jung Hi left for the front line on a tour of inspection. Three helicopters were flying in the air as usual. All of a sudden, they were caught in the fire of A-A guns. But he had the devil's luck.

A helicopter not carrying him was downed. Hence, no report about his inspection of the front line, but about the commanders' meeting. Now he may be trembling from fear in his room of the Blue House guarded by 500 armymen and 5,000 policemen."

There is no way to ascertain the truth of this story. And there is no sequel to it either. But, in any way, it is a fact that the limit of this power is being felt and talked about. Now, I believe, is a time to explore the organization and thought with which to live a positive life in the era to come, as well as the courage and spirit of resistance.

I should like to pass this rigorous winter of 1976 together with the Japanese friends who have spared no encouragement to the feeble democratic voice of south Korea. And I extend my 1977 greetings and regards to them.

December 12, 1976

COURT RECORD OF "MARCH FIRST DECLARATION CASE"

The Days Full of Symbols

The year 1976 expired in the severest cold in twenty years with the temperature going down to 15 degrees below zero, and 1977, the year of Serpent, pregnant with misgivings and unknown things, has begun. In order to understand the situation in south Korea, this year, too, one must set oneself to decode a host of hidden ciphers.

At the end of last year, copies of an "objectionable document" titled "Are the People the Servant of Power?" were scattered on the Yonse University campus. It was a translation of an article of the Pak Dong Son affair carried in *News Week*. It was prefaced with "We have the right to know about the Republic of Korea as its people." The following five-point "Resolution of the Yonseites" was added to its end:

1. The Pak regime, take the responsibility for the recent case which has dishonored this nation and resign immediately;
2. Stop repressive politics that trample underfoot the fundamental rights of the people and release the detained professors and teachers;
3. Dissolve the Student Defence League and discontinue investigation on the campuses;
4. Repeal the Revitalization Constitution and remove the Emergency Decrees;

5. The Yonseites will fight on until these demands are met.

It is a mimeographed two-sheet document of no account. It is not worth a real surprise. The authorities or people, though, do not take it simple. This is quite strange. Isn't it a herald of spring commotion? Something is brewing among students, to be sure. Such strange documents or leaflets might increase from now on. No student in Yonsei University has been arrested on account of that affair, I hear. One student gave me this account:

“Even religious investigation—we may call it an operation directed against students—is conducted. The KCIA would ask to inform it of the students' movement in their respective churches on the basis of this investigation. They say they would give scholarships and send students abroad for study. Probably more of students will be sent abroad by the KCIA. It threatens the refusers with possible consequences such as the difficulty of getting a job. The more restless the world becomes, the more the campuses are reduced to the haunts of the KCIA.”

Although the former KCIA director is reported as missing, the KCIA is now busy with its large-scale expansion, I am told. A wholesale change is said to be taking place inside, too. The first and second vice-directors and some assistant vice-directors are newly posted under the director. Thus the KCIA will be reorganized in imitation of the Cabinet or the Blue House, I hear. The new KCIA director is said to be Pak Jung Hi's fellow provincial and the person he places his greatest confidence in. Pak Jung Hi seems to commit his destiny to him and the KCIA, because he, though slow-witted, is trustworthy. In this

way, the longer a dark cloud hangs over our country, the more the KCIA lords it over south Korea.

When the problem of south Korea-US relations comes to settlement, it appears, there will be a great wave of reshuffle in the Cabinet, the Blue House and the diplomatic service. As it is the case with the mentality of the fascists in general, the Pak regime has a feeling of security along with extreme anxiety, because it is well aware that corrupt selfish ideas are found even in the government and individuals who cry for humanism or justice. Herein also lies the origin of the KCIA scandal in America. Even idealistic politicians yield to money and women. If only they can keep them from exposure and make good use of them under the mask of hypocrisy, minding it should not be pulled off, then everything is all right. Thus they gained some success at home.

Though they have been conflicting with Christianity at home, how do they get on with America? If an amnesty is granted to persons relative to the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation America's face will be saved. And in case the released democrats stir up troubles the KCIA will raise internal confusion under its manipulation and bring the situation to such a point as to startle the USCIA, and this will give them another chance for suppression—they have such a feeling of security based on a plot.

Yesterday's papers carried an article entitled "Formation of a South Korea-US-Japan Security Body Sought." This causes no wide divergence of opinion among friends as it uncovers its symbol. That means they do not mind leaving Japan with the problem of national defence as well. As for Japan's intervention in national defence, it induces an incomparably greater reaction of the people than the economic problems. They, however, wink at the United States, hinting

that if this matter, too, is left in the hands of the Pak regime, it will successfully dispose of it. An expert remarked, heaving a heavy sigh:

“They are flying an ad-balloon toward the United States that they don’t care about Japan’s practical intervention not only in the economic but in the political and military spheres as well. When concluding the south Korea-Japan treaty, the Pak regime got the US support. The US considered that only the Pak regime was able to realize the so-called normalization of the south Korea-Japan relations through the suppression of the south Korean people. This means that from now on the Pak regime is regarded as the only regime that can force the south Korean people to accept Japan’s assumption of the responsibility for south Korea’s defence in place of the United States. It is the Pak regime’s another effort to prolong its life by selling off the national interests and independence. It sees through the Carter Administration’s ulterior designs hidden behind its favorite phrase ‘human rights.’ If the United States insists upon the withdrawal of its troops, the Pak regime will implore it to prolong its life in return for its acceptance. It is a country-selling regime second to that at the end of Li Dynasty.”

According to this expert friend, it has become hardly possible to carry on the south Korea-US relations without Japan’s intervention. The Pak regime, therefore, pins their hope on the new Fukuda government of Japan. Then, it may be said that south Korea has already been deprived of its essential diplomatic rights. In the fall of last year the special investigation bureau of the Seoul District Public Procurators’ Office announced that there was a “graft of colossal sum in the import of fertilizers for agricultural cooperatives.” Taepyong Co., Ltd. reportedly

diverted 7.8 million dollars overseas. In this, Japan's "Sumitomo", too, is involved. Taehan Air Line's president Cho Jung Hun was indicted, unrestrained, we hear, as he too had a hand in the affair. A journalist friend made the following comment on it, which may be worth listening to:

"Newspapers are splashing it as a south Korean-version Lockheed scandal. It was made public that the section chief of the ministry of agriculture and fishery was suspected of having accepted a bribe of 300 dollars. How funny! Cho Jung Hun is allied with Osano of Japan. While watching how Osano is dealt with in Japan, they will make a feint of calling Cho to account. The Japanese side may request the south Korean government for a circumstantial investigation, placing reliance on the latter's 'conscientious' self-purification ability. But, is it not tantamount to advising the culprit to insist on his innocence? By doing so, both sides are going to continue their happy honeymoon trip. We will see another interesting show."

On December 28, it was reported that the United States and south Korea had entered the stage of straightening out the affairs of the Pak Dong Son's bribery case, Kim Sang Gun's exile case and the incident of Blue House tapping by a US agency. All newspapers played this up with the same articles and comments. So the people have come to know about what has been unknown heretofore. But it is probably because they have become confident in impressing on the people that the matter was settled. The commentary says that Pak Dong Son personally spent a paltry sum of 40,000 dollars out of patriotism, a fact which is of no account, and that the US mass media have exaggerated it maliciously. The Pak regime, it explains, has always done right on this mat-

ter, too, and since the US is a country of divergent opinions there may be some who say in a singular way. The people, of course, do not believe this explanation. But revealing the truth to the people, it seems, they hope to assume a nonchalant air as if the matter was settled. I want to add my friend's comment on this:

"The US ambassador to Seoul, it is said, made a strong-worded report to Washington to the effect that if Pak Jung Hi resigns there will be a great confusion. As an on-the-spot ambassador he feared that the Pak regime would launch an anti-US campaign. Hence, the recent government announcement was reportedly made with the US ambassador's understanding. This gave him an assurance that they would not start an anti-US campaign. In putting in its announcement in the newspapers, the government even warned them not to cause the anti-US sentiment. The press of south Korea will share the fate with the Pak regime until the latter sinks into its grave. Meanwhile a rumour authored by the KCIA is spreading that forty-odd thousand dollars are nothing much in view of the fact that the USCIA is spending money lavishly in south Korea. Furthermore, they summoned the university presidents and raved before them: 'The United States, too, is not reliable. The Americans will do anything in the world to make an excuse for the withdrawal of their troops. It is high time for us to free ourselves from slavish submission to power and thoroughly carry out the education which respects autonomy and independence.' This is a highly skilful mass manipulation."

Today the news has reached my ear that towards the end of last year, the students of Kyemyong University in Taegu printed the March First Declaration

for Democratic National Salvation and distributed it all around. This caused the arrest of 12 of the members of this university's "Society for the Study of Social Science." There is another authentic information. An anonymous letter flew into the New Democratic Party, the so-called opposition. It bore a list of the names of ten NDP leaders to be branded as "public enemies." At the top of the list stood Li Chol Sung, head of the party, who advocates the "need to seek supra-party politics in face of the present crisis of the fatherland." Kim Yong Sam, its former head, is said to have been placed seventh. The author of the letter is considered to be the students. Kim Yong Sam who was troubled with it has left for America on an inspection tour. I suppose this had such an effect that *Minju Chonson*, the NDP organ, has carried the following poem suggestive of a slight vacillation:

*Dead leaves are falling.
Waves of humanity are surging,
Yet, the towns look like a frozen active volcano.
....
Streets resound with cries and the sound of
drums.
Silvery flashes advance like waves.
Yet loneliness closes in on my heart
That I cannot get rid of.*

How many symbols does everything has in itself? Today there are too many things I want to tell the overseas friends. But, I will confine myself to reporting on the second hearing of the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. I feel I am bound in duty to inform as many overseas friends as possible of the courageous statements heard only by a small number of observers.

I feel regret that for my lack of writing ability, I cannot do full justice to them and put them in brief.

The Counsel's Pleading

The counsel's pleading proceeded for two days—December 17 and 18—and the final statements of “defendants” for 12 hours—till past ten on the night of December 20. With a view to economizing space, I will not add my own comment on it, because I think the summarized pleadings and statements tell the whole thing. But I would like to add a word that it is ardently hoped their contents will be known to as many people as possible in Korean, Japanese and English versions. The courtroom, I should say, was a classroom of democracy, theology and national history. It was, however, too mournful a space closed and forbidden to the south Korean people.

The counsels could sleep little from the day before their pleading, I hear. They brought their wives to the court as hearers, for fear that they should be arrested due to their arguments.

The chief counsel Pak Se Gyong first reminded the attendants of the trial of the March 1st Independence Movement case held in that court in 1919. He referred to the Japanese lawyer, Hanai Takuzo, who argued that the Declaration of Independence sprang from the “natural instinct of mankind.” He began to argue: “The expression of free will is the instinct of mankind for all ages.” And he deplorably said that he was envious of even the liberty the Japanese court had during the period of Japanese colonial rule.

I can't reiterate his long debate here. Nor can I quote his concrete law theory. He pointed out that the alleged defendants rather wore “bright

and peaceful looks" in spite of their ten-month prison life. Pilate's court for Jesus, he said, rendered a wrong decision owing to the pressure of the outside that responded to the masses' cries. This was to emphasize that the present court, too, was under outside pressure. Let me quote some impressive words from his bold pleading in those two days:

It is against the Constitution that the Emergency Decrees have penalty prescriptions. The penalty prescriptions should have duly undergone legislative proceedings after the announcement of the Emergency Decrees. The March First Declaration for National Salvation is a patriotic voice worrying over the nation's destiny and supraconstitutional. Let us recall the days when the July 4 North-South Joint Statement was made public in 1972. There were goings and comings between statesmen in the north and the south. That was an infringement of the National Security Law. Though, the people did not call it in question. They showed understanding for that. The March First Declaration, too, is not the sort which should be subject to criminal punishment. Let me add a few more words to make sure. Although the withdrawal of the US troops has become an issue and the human rights in south Korea and scandals of south Koreans in America are called in question in the US Congress, the government keeps silence. This is not a proper attitude the powers should take towards the people.

There is a limit for justice to intervene in politics. Politics assumes variety. Justice must exercise self-control over politics. This is for its own purity and its discovery of truth—its essence. Ideology is the issue in this trial. How is it possible for the conclusion which 18 leaders have formed at the

risk of their lives while worrying about the destiny of the nation in anguish to be judged in this uncomfortable atmosphere? This case is not one to be tried in a court like this.

Strict vigilance must be kept over Japan's economic invasion; the primary industry is hard going; we should not be satisfied with loan economy—why is it that these advices do harm to the national security? It is only right to give advice that the decision of will by one's country must not be influenced by other country on account of economic aggression. Now the 72 per cent of the GNP depends upon foreign trade. It is natural to entertain apprehensions about it. What is worse, more loan has to be made in order to pay credit principal and interest. Thereupon, on December 14 last the Commercial Bank of South Korea tried to raise a foreign loan of 25 million dollars in Singapore at a 0.25 per cent discount and a 9.57 per cent annual interest on the joint recommendation of a Japanese and a US company with security given by the south Korean government. It was, however, treated with marked coolness, because south Korea had lost its international credit.

The total sum of international debt repayable in the coming fourth Five-Year Plan period amounts to 5,436 million dollars plus 3,964 million dollars of interest—9,400 million dollars in all. We are certainly surprised at such a huge sum as well as at such a great increase compared with 3,300 million dollars at the time of the third Five-Year Plan. In this situation, the people must exert all their efforts to ride out the crisis. Resignation of the government is an unavoidable alternative for it. The government is a temporary being for the country and people. The people are entitled to request its resignation.

Economic dependence on Japan is daily increasing. It is extended from the economic even to the political and military adhesion and domination. Under the pretext of economic cooperation Japan is tightening her control intentionally. And the Japanese show greater business ability than the Jew's. It is a common knowledge of enterprise that collaboration with Japanese firms brings no profit. As for the Japanese enterprise marching into south Korea, it is nothing more than the pollution-making industry, the textile and other declining industries and the opening of a market for outworn facilities.

Japanese loan is a high-interest commercial one. It is a shackling loan with strings attached. It makes the recipient government stand security for payment of principal and interest and obligates it to pay royalty for technical service after import. After giving the use of equipment and material, the creditor claims the security for interest and seeks to acquire the right of management and marketing. This is the economic animal's endless pursuit of gold. We are hard pressed. To add to this, even unfair profiteering is being plotted. Illustrative of this are the Hanguk Aluminium and Metro cases. Metro cars worth 19 million *yen* were bought for 32 million *yen*.

Japanese enterprises have made a bloodless landing on south Korea called the blessed land for foreign capital investment. They are close with financial magnates at home. All the medium and small enterprises have been borne down. Of Japanese-line enterprises, those capitalized at above 1 million dollars account for below 10 per cent and below 100,000 dollars above 50 per cent. As these enterprises carry on an extensive trade ranging from *tatami* even to clogs, stationery and toys, the weak medium and small enterprises of our country are on

the verge of bankruptcy. All industries of this country have become unable to keep themselves up without Japanese capital.

This is an unquestionable economic aggression trading on the slogan of the "modernization" of our country. The March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation points out this fact very clearly. Its demand for the change of the direction of the economic building of the state is the very voice of all the people. Japanese imperialism, Japanese colonialism, is still alive. The moneyed clique and political powers of this country are cooperating with it. Japan, therefore, supports the tragic social system of this country. What a terrible, insensate posture this is!

Japan is boasting of her 1,000 million dollars foreign aid, but this aid, as is accused of even in the United States, is for establishing her footing for business. It is not aid but exploitation. The bulk of it comprises commercial loan with harsh collateral conditions. Her aid is nothing more than a subsidy for export of goods. It seems Japan is dreaming of realizing the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere—her old dream of militarism—towards the end of the 70's. If this court declares a person guilty for having criticized this tragic state of affairs, the Japanese will chuckle to themselves. How can it be a crime against the country to say that tomorrow will be too late if such a state of affairs is not rectified today? Whose good is the power for?

In the countryside, too, 70 per cent of farm land has been acidified. Farmland seems to exist in the interest of the fertilizer factories. The government is advertizing that the year's harvest is the richest ever known in history. There is no money in the countryside, however. Though 180,000 million *won* are said to be laid out for the purchase of autumn

grains, the peasants' debt is 20,000 million *won* more than that. This misery in the midst of a bumper harvest is due to the economic structure that sacrifices the countryside. Pigs are butchered now in the rural villages. It is because, though hog-raising is encouraged, the road of export to Japan has been blocked, they say. And nothing is left in the countryside but the debts of hog-raising loan. Such is the Pak regime's agricultural policy.

Let me take another case in reference to the countryside. Several months ago, many fishermen perished in a shipwreck on the East Sea. None of them had a life belt, and no body was recovered either. On the other hand, the Koryo Pelagic Fishery Company president who has stirred up public discussion of late amassed 4,000 million *won* in ten years by an investment of 5 million *won*. When Pak Jung Hi staged a coup d'état in 1961 he took the trouble to print for Pak what is called a revolutionary pledge. His favours were repaid: Following the conclusion of the south Korea-Japan treaty he could enjoy a monopoly of cooperative fund for fishery given by Japan and the government's aid fund for fishery. Who on earth is endangering the security of this country? I cannot repress my indignation not as a lawyer who has undertaken this case but as a tax-payer.

The government is laboring under a delusion of persecution about the March First Declaration—the voice of national conscience. You will see other details in my written statement. Even one million words fail us to describe the patriotic sincerity of these eighteen persons. I only apologize with a humble bow for my poor argument on this historic case. It is to be desired that even a little consideration will be given to the feeling of the people who wailed over the judgment passed at the first hearing on August 29.

Fairness of the Ministry of Justice is expected. The people hope it will choose righteousness rather than convenience and prefer justice to generosity.

The March 1st Movement was a struggle for independence by peaceful means. The March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation is a declaration that took over its spirit and is permeated throughout with confidence in democracy. It is based on the affirmative appraisal of our people that they can live in democracy.

At present the three labor rights in the enterprises run by foreign capital, too, have not been guaranteed by law. Once a labor dispute occurs the Office of Labour always takes part with the side of enterprises. In 1973 it entrusted the investigation of the Masan export zone to Seoul University's Administrative Graduate School. No report about it was made though it cost 3 million *won*. Ninety per cent of the enterprises there were those belonging to the Japanese which require intensive labor with the worst working conditions. Even the Office of Labour's statistics dated March 1973 showed that the wage level of Japanese enterprises in the Masan export zone was 22,912 *won* whereas that of home enterprises 23,267 *won*. Such is the state of affairs in the enterprises operating with foreign capital enjoying many privileges. No efforts, however, have been made for its improvement on the part of the government.

Talking of such a fact is now taboo. It is not also allowed to feel out the truth. I cannot but recall the case in which lawyer Kang Sin Ok who defended the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students case was arrested, imprisoned and disqualified from the bar in July 1974. He was suspended from his pleading in court and arrested while quoting the following words of Russia's

19th-century historian Divatayev:

"No traditions and lessons can be found in our history as it is backward and barbarous. Even worse, there is no leader who admits this fact. Peter the Great alone acknowledged it and endeavoured to carry history forward on that basis."

For that reason, in 1837, he incurred the displeasure of the then Emperor Nicholas and was put under house arrest, branded as a lunatic. Hence Divatayev made public "Vindication of a Madman" with a preface, "My brothers! I have lived in a harsh reality, but with no harsh mind."

"I am second to none in loving my motherland. Yet I haven't learned to love my country with my eyes closed, my head lowered and my mouth shut. I have been under the impression that only one who can clearly see his country with his own eyes can become a man of service to his country. The day of blind love has gone. Today, everybody, I think, is duty bound to tell the truth to his motherland. My love for the country is in line with what was taught by Peter the Great. I frankly confess that I do not entertain such a depraved patriotism as is spread among many people who hate everything, be what it may, and are lost in the rapture of self-made fantasy."

This is a passage that appeared in *Time* as the quotation made by US Senator Fulbright when he spoke for the Dove Group. It was in 1973, I remember. "The Emperor Nicholas....," lawyer Kang Sin Ok began but could not go on. Unfortunately, both lawyer Kang and eighteen leaders here are the persons who have not "learned the way to love their country with their eyes closed, their heads lowered and their mouths shut." Can it be a horrible crime in our country to have said rightly about the south Korean workers' actual conditions?

The remark that the Ministry of Justice became a servant of the Administration was indicted for distortion of truth. If the decision is made under outside pressure it cannot be said justice is done by the judge himself. Let us recall the judicatory offensive in 1971. The prosecution made application for a warrant for the arrest of the judge on charges of having received a bribe from the counsel, but it was dismissed twice. This implies the judge should be obedient to the prosecution. The fishermen rescued by the north were arrested after their return home on charges of Anti-Communist Law violation, as they had told what they had seen there. The employees of a tea shop were arrested because, while dialling the radio, there came forth a broadcast from the north on a sudden. At the time of election an opposition party member was arrested under the Anti-Communist Law for his allegation that the Pak regime constitutes a hotbed of irregularities and corruption and a criminal gang plotting the Fuehrer system and blotting out democracy. The court, however, declared them not guilty. This invited indignation on the part of the government and prosecution.

Afterwards, the appointing power for the bench was vested in the President under the Revitalization Constitution. The staff of the Judicial Institute as well as the instructors of the Judicial Training Institute are appointed by the President. If a judge gives up his office opposing the change of his post, he is not allowed to establish a law practice in that district. The reappointment of judges took place according to the Revitalization Constitution, but those who were left out of this reappointment were to be automatically removed from the office of judiciary. At the time, there were fifty persons omitted; nine Supreme Court judges were all purged on

charges of having given an unconstitutional decision against the government's will. Those judges who had incurred the wrath of the powers for having declared not guilty those persons relative to the student demonstration met the same fate. The government may consider it to be an independence of judicial power. But the people do not think so at all.

Reference to the gag of the press is not a distortion of fact but the fact itself. Intervention in articles, the constant stay of the KCIA agents in newspaper companies and the taking off and purge of newsmen are of daily occurrence. At the time of the struggle for the free press in 1974 even the reporters of *Seoul Sinmun* under the direct control of the government lodged a complaint against such a state of affairs, saying, "The reporter who is unable to perform his duties is no more a reporter, and a newspaper that is made in disregard of the reporters' conscience and duties is no longer a newspaper."

The suppression of academic freedom is known to a mere child. The freedom of religion and conscience is an absolute freedom about which even the Constitution provides for no reservation. Nonetheless, it is violated now. Why doesn't the prosecution verify the actual state? Deplorable is the prosecution's ignorance of the theology of liberation. Christians' interest is shifting from the future life to the building of a divine land today in this world. Churches should act responsibly towards the malpractices in this world. In particular, the vices in this world are now becoming structural. For all their responsible act benefiting the national development, why is it regarded as a crime doing harm to social order? Such a censure will incur ridicule at home and abroad.

The prosecution holds that there is the freedom

of religion because the churches and believers are growing in numbers. Yet its assertion cannot be a disproof of the power's violation of religious freedom. Truckling to the power will not invite government intervention. If there is an increase of such ingratiatory churches, it has nothing to do with the question of religious freedom. If there is prosperity of churches intending to realize, without currying favor with the powers, a divine land in this world, it is due to a strong belief that struggles against the harsh reality. The sophism by which to evidence religious freedom with a numerical increase can hardly go down with this court that deals with the supreme intellect. Though the prosecution insists that religious freedom is fully ensured, it was not attested at all at the first hearing. The government's data which show only the number of believers cannot support charge.

The expression in the declaration that the press is daily withering is too mild for the actual condition of the press. I hope a proper response will be given to the aspiration of the people demanding a fair judgement to these personages who are desirous to follow conscience and God's teachings.

While taking part in this trial from the first hearing, I have been tormented by loneliness and a sense of nihility. For the prosecution and counsel are squabbling with each other, cavilling at words, without regard to the noble character, statesmanship and patriotism of these personages. Theirs is indeed a childish argument. They argue pro and con: "They say the press has been shrinking up. Is it true? No, it is not. Workers have been exploited. No, it cannot be called exploitation if they are paid that much. Parliamentarism is only in name. No, national affairs are hotly debated in the National Assembly.

Kim Ji Ha is a Communist. No." They even talked of Kim Ji Ha though he was not present in court.

The court tries to put the case of sermon on trial. Things have come to this pass since the court attempts to judge conscience and ideology and freedom of inner nature. This is the key point. They are not a sort to be taken to court. They must not be repressed before the fact. They should be called in question only when they are expressed and bring a definite danger to others. These days the papers are just the same in contents. I myself tell so when turning down the requests of newsmen who persuade me to take newspaper. If one gets three- or five-year sentence for that, the people are compelled to keep mum. It is as good as repression before the fact. A sad fact this is.

The prosecution alleges that the freedoms of speech, conscience and religion are guaranteed. However, it is not going to establish a fact of it. Nor does it bear the burdens of assertion and proof. It is a patent fact that such freedoms are ensured, it says. A patent fact denotes a historically well-known fact or a geographically noted name of place. Nonetheless, the prosecution makes an improper use of the words. And it has brought forward the so-called answers of those ministers criticized in the March First Declaration. What do they think a trial is?

It is natural that when discussing the national affairs opinions divide between the government and the Opposition and according to each of the people. Li Dynasty's great Confucian Li Ryul Gok said that the assertions of two groups of East and West may be equally beneficial to the state. The prosecution is abusing the right of charge. The future history will judge things truthfully. The power which lends no ear to the people's voice in time of national crisis is bound to ruin. South Vietnam

fell despite the enormous US aid. It was due to the dictatorship and corruption of the Thieu regime. Even in face of national peril they were scraping up only gold bar in preparation for flight while suppressing the people. Since the downfall of South Vietnam they have been living in comfort abroad.

The prosecution claimed that the announcement of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation revealed a shameful division of public opinion to the internal and external fronts. I don't think so. It has demonstrated that there still exists a democratic force capable of building up democracy in this country. It served to prove the possibility of diverting the aggravated international public opinion. One must remember the Thieu regime which went to ruin while seeking to prolong its rule and repeating political retaliation.

The Ministry of Justice seems to have become a tool for perpetuating the present regime. Li Ryul Gok scathingly rebuked the Ulsa calamity of expulsion of the opposition parties (1545) and declared that one, however excellent in learning, could not be respected if he lacked in worldly wisdom. Is it the trend of the present time that one thinks everything is all right if he gets what he wants whatever the people may say? Syngman Rhee carried out a constitutional revision in 1954 for seizure of power by applying the method of rounding off to the nearest integer. At the time, the Chief Justice Kim Byong Ro declared it unconstitutional. Where has this judicial tradition gone? That trial will go down in the history of our country, in the history of the world's democratic development.

The charge related to Kim Ji Ha is contrary to the facts or totally groundless. In his lecture Fr. Sin Hyon Bong merely said: "Martin Luther made feudalistic Christianity bourgeois, but could not make

it Christianity of the poor oppressed whom Jesus identified himself with. There is the possibility of achieving the unity of both Protestantism and Catholicism in the effort to attain such original Christianity. But in south Korea mere making a note of the word 'bourgeois' is enough to be branded as a Red." This is all Fr. Sin said. The authorities, I hear, recorded his lecture. Then why do they not submit it as a proof?

At the function of the Protestant-Catholic Unity Week, too, only the following remarks were made: Love for the suffering people is a love for God; the abandonment of democracy for security's sake is tantamount to burning up property in fear of thief. The national unity springs from the spirit of reconciliation overflowing in a place where a genuine human life is ensured. Unity is impossible logically and practically where suppression and inequality exist. The real enemies of national unity are the corrupt privilege and oppression and exploitation for maintaining it. The escape of Lon Nol and Thieu showed that only the captain's life boat was safe in case of shipwreck. The fate of oppressors and that of people do not coincide in any case. The dictatorship should not be allowed to remain further. War should in no way break out in the Korean Peninsula. Defeat in peace is defeat in all. It is true that above remarks were made, but what the bill says is quite different with them.

What fact on earth do you insist is distorted with regard to Kim Ji Ha? Is it that they said the authorities are labelling Kim Ji Ha as a Communist for criticizing the bourgeoisie? Everything is ambiguous. Indicting Kim Ji Ha, the authorities issued a yellow-covered pamphlet entitled "Actual Facts of the Case of Kim Ji Ha's Violation of Anti-Communist Law." Is it fair to do this even before the trial?

I have been shown the court record of Kim Ji Ha, but it contains no mention of the reason for writing "A Declaration of Conscience" and other details. Do they think they can give him a verdict of guilty in such a state?

Is Kim Ji Ha really a Communist? I want to say a word about the theology of liberation he is interested in. It is the essence of Christianity to restore man as the image of God. Liberation of man and development of society for that purpose are not the means of Christianity's missionary work but is precisely evangelism itself. Why is it heretical to Christianity to defeat injustice, give the people a better human life and make them the masters of their own destiny? This is the main current of the Christian churches.

The emancipation advocated by the theology of liberation is entirely different from communism in its practical method. In this theology, love is carried into other classes. In the finale of Kim Ji Ha's works, "Five Bandits" and "Groundless Rumours" or his projected ones, "Chang Il Dam" and "Stake" either the oppressors or the oppressed are rescued by God. This constitutes the core of Kim Ji Ha's Christian ideology.

The prosecution asserted that the theology of liberation borders upon communism. This is proof of an oppressive posture towards the Christian churches which cannot keep silence if there is an agony of men. It comes from formulism that regards sympathy with the sufferers and poor as something akin to communism.

Before concluding my letter, I would like to add a word with regard to the distortion of facts. If anyone says the decision at the first trial was made by the KCIA, it is a distortion of facts, I should say, because it is contrary to the absolute fact. But the ways of thinking over the Revitalization Constitu-

tion may differ according to viewpoints. As for the ten-year sentence, some people might say it is not a severe punishment. This is true, too, of the national income level. It is rhetorical to simply appraise things differently without making alternations in objective contents. It is a sphere beyond the reach of law. If it is intervened, it means the powers come to intervene even in the use of adjectives by the people. The prosecution's knowledge of the national language is doubtful.

The pleading has thus continued. However, the defence of lawyer Kim Gwang Il who stood up second from the last caused a great sensation. He argued: "Though it is imperative to 'cultivate self, keep the home, govern the country and restore peace in the country' the defendants are the persons who can neither cultivate themselves nor keep a happy home. Is the evil law not a law? Doesn't this court, where the prosecutors and lawyers are allowed to speak of anything face to face, furnish a proof of the independence of judicial right? For this reason, though, the world has an erroneous notion that there is no human right in south Korea. I beg of you to act broad-mindedly for the national interests." At the moment there came a cry from the dock: "Quit your pleading!" He may have said so paradoxically and sardonically. He, however, is said to have come up from Pusan of his own accord and made such an abrupt speech. There may be a smack of the KCIA politics about it, too. This thought has left a lingering bitter taste.

January 7, 1977

DISQUIETING POLITICS

Story about Mad Dog

Down-trodden people find something important even in a trifling event.

On January 8 a tragic incident occurred in Sodaemun Prison, Seoul. Bitten by a *Tosa* dog, a fighting dog as big as a calf, a five-year-old boy died on the spot. It is said that the dog is a mongrel between Japanese dog from Kochi and ferocious European dog and that there are more than 10,000 dogs of this kind in south Korea. The dog ran amuck, biting at the child for 30 minutes. But some 300 people who happened to be there were so scared that they remained a mere spectator. The child breathed his last, crying "Mom, mom." That is why *Minju Chonson*, official paper of an opposition party, gave prominence to this news with a headline: "A Heartless World."

The dog had bitten at passers-by several times. So, the neighbours had requested the police to dispose of it, but in vain.

This is symbolic of south Korea today.

The *Tosa* dog that has the blood of a European fighting dog in its veins seems to symbolize neo-colonialism, including Japan, that dominates south Korea.

Since everyone remains a passive onlooker to mad dogs that run wild, the casualties are on the steady increase. If anybody makes a statement out

of anguish he is just ignored or thrown into jail. Ours is a world where mad dogs get the upper hand. The fact that *Minju Chonson* dealt with this incident with an 11-column article might have reflected the public sentiment.

In fact, the Pak regime seems to be acting just like the mad dog. So the people are in a constant fear. It was out of fear that the people had attended the regular monthly meetings of the neighbourhood associations until around the spring of last year. It was said that if they didn't attend, they would be reported to the Blue House. But these days people do not gather at all as they have come to see that they are not called to account so severely for their absence, and thus the meetings have become nominal. Now, they say that the neighbourhood associations will be strengthened to launch a drive to chain dogs up. How can the public at large, and more particularly, the poor folks raise such giant dogs? Such are the mass organizations under the Pak regime. As long as a mad dog rushes about and lives of people are considered to be in danger, that might be effective. But it is not that a mad dog runs wild all the time. So when their control is slackened even a little, the populace return into their own orbit, to a world of rumours. It is reported that they are going to set up a Youth Training Centre at a place quite far from Seoul in order to strengthen its lower echelons. They are said to intend to form something similar to Hitlerjugend. But no one thinks that such a "docile organization" can be formed with the young south Koreans. It will squander an enormous sum of money but will end in anticlimax.

The Pak regime seems to be more irritated like a mad dog because it cannot win the allegiance of the masses. From January 19, Pak Jung Hi started his "New Year inspection" of central government offi-

ces. To our surprise, it is reported, even high-ranking officials enlisted in that inspection were frisked. This was done apparently because Pak feared that any of them might be seeking his life. Even these officials were infuriated. The fighting dog who had bit the child to death was killed by a carbine bullet fired by a policeman that afternoon. Ever since, the mad dog has trembled for fear that he might meet a dreadful end like the dead dog. The KCIA has reportedly been expanded and consolidated and the 6th Bureau, a department for the criminal investigation of civilians, has been incorporated into the 5th Bureau. Maybe, this is intended to dissipate the impression of the 6th Bureau which has tormented the critics of the government. But the 5th Bureau is in charge of the investigation of Communists. Therefore, those who are opposed to the government will be dealt with more severely as Communists. In fact, in south Korea whoever is stigmatized as Communist cannot win any sympathy from the people. Even the pressure of public opinion abroad produces little effect. Some people are having a hard time of it, sentenced to penal servitude for life and other heavy penalties on charges of involvement in the case of People's Revolutionary Party. There is no electric light in the cells where these people are kept in confinement. Neither physical exercise nor interview is allowed. They cannot meet pastors or Catholic priests attached to the prison. Moreover, in this darkness the loud-speakers eulogize the Pak regime all day long. It is presumably intended to drive the internees mad. However, there has been no mention of humanitarian problems concerning them. The south Korean people's sympathetic inclinations towards "anti-communist brutality" are immeasurably great, though it goes without saying that people remain a mere on-looker in order not to get bitten by the mad dog.

That is why the Pak regime makes every effort to put communist label on the dissidents, in spite of its repeated failures. The same may be said of Mr. Kim Ji Ha. But for his "Declaration of Conscience" and the worldwide support, he would also have gone to the other world like the eight persons involved in the PRP case. Those falsely branded as Communists are tortured almost every day in prison even after sentences have been passed on them. Three such cases have been confirmed recently. A young man is suffering from hernia, but he is left untreated. Another man was beaten, with an edged cudgel put behind the bent knees. The cudgel snapped three times. He got kicks on his belly and vomited blood. He was forced to swallow that blood back. A man who was sentenced to life imprisonment is confined in Kwangju Prison. His fingers, eyes and face are all frost-bitten. He is allowed to apply ointments, but not to take internal medicine. They are permitted to drink two cups of water a day. The cells are so dark that they cannot read books. Moreover, they almost lost their eyesight because of their eye diseases. But they are not allowed to have their eyes treated. The cells are so small that they cannot stretch out their arms freely. Their health is deteriorating day by day. Even while making his men indulge in such anti-communist tortures, the man in power says as he likes. Newspapers report that in his New Year's press conference on January 12 Pak Jung Hi had this to say:

"I think it is necessary to form a view of value that man should be respected more than money. This can be said to be a development of spiritual culture. We should realize the fact that if only material civilization develops and spiritual culture remains undeveloped, such a society is very fragile."

What does he mean by the respect of man? Is it that men excluded from his merciful solicitude are slaughtered under the pretext of anti-communism? So, the Association of Families of the Arrested asked in its statement how there could be respect of man without "releasing all the convicted or unconvicted prisoners detained as conscientious criminals and stopping all inhumane acts." In conclusion the statement says:

"Recently the government has exhibited humanities and set free even the 'Japanese spies' who were sentenced to life imprisonment. There will be no reason whatsoever to refuse the release of the conscientious prisoners of its own country imprisoned on charges of the violation of Emergency Decrees Nos. 4 and 5. Again we strongly demand that our husbands, our sons and our daughters be set free." And those involved in the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation are even banned from reading newspapers. It is said that because of the protests of lawyers they are now allowed to take exercise for ten minutes a day.

This notwithstanding, the majority of the people cannot but assume the attitude of an onlooker, scared at the mad dog. Once there is a sudden external change, their expectations rise suddenly, but soon they are seized with a greater defeatism. When words go round such as "Mr. Carter has been elected US President" or "the dishonest act of the KCIA has been taken seriously at US Congress," even lawyers at the political court plead in high spirits. But, as soon as the man in power barks like a mad dog, a dead silence prevails. And people refuse to televise the government's propaganda programmes of the three TV stations by way of resistance. From 8 to 8:30 p.m. all TVs have to cast the government's propaganda programmes distributed by the Ministry

of Culture and Public Information. Sometimes, all the three TV stations give exactly the same programme, perhaps because of inadequate preparations. Then, most of the TV sets throughout south Korea are switched off. A friend of mine laughs, commenting, "This benefits only the electric companies with no accumulated power."

More often than not, the people, gripped with the deepest unrest and discontent, magnify a minor news to an unreasonable degree. On January 14 Ryang Il Dong, supreme member of the Democratic Unification Party which has only two seats at the National Assembly, had a press conference. The press merely reported that "he urged intensified diplomacy with the third world." But people claim that in fact, he spoke more than that. Namely, the KCIA got wind of this press conference, seized printed matters and changed their contents entirely. But rumour has it that 200 copies had been concealed and they were actually used at the conference. In them Ryang expressed his apprehensions over the press gag and the present state budget in which national defence outlay accounts for 34.7 per cent. He also criticized the unreasonable budget bill, corruption and the real situation of trade unions. Among other things he emphasized: The government's explanation of the south Korea-US discord is insufficient; the question of withdrawal of US troops has been raised by the Pak regime's undemocratic repression; the Emergency Decrees must be repealed and democracy and human rights restored; and in particular, the National Assembly must be dissolved and general elections held.

It is true that encouraged by this resistance, intellectuals are whispering among themselves. The opposition New Democratic Party is flayed for its degeneration. But how grievous it is that a friend

of mine, who informed me of this, could not but entertain the following misgivings.

“The New Democratic Party with quite a few seats at the National Assembly has turned completely into a semi-government party. And Mr. Kim Dae Jung, the greatest opponent, is subjected to such an intensive repression. The impotent Democratic Unification Party is allowed to make such utterances. Members of this party are not arrested when they speak of such things. Opposition parties are pitted against each other. This seems to be a highly-polished tactics of the KCIA.”

The Pak regime is under the complete sway of Pak Jung Hi's personality. Anyone failing to keep with his personality cannot remain his close attendant. One of his ministers, a jurist, once opposed the south Korea-Japan Treaty and took a critical attitude toward the government. But when urged to take a ministerial post he was so grateful that in his first statement to the President, he said: “At that time I was a mere greenhorn who knew nothing of the world....” He is a typical intellectual, I think. Pak Jung Hi dislikes dialogue. He decides whether the other party is a friend or a foe. Pak believes that everybody submits to power and reality. This belief has formed in him apparently because in his youth he served the Japanese army as a junior officer.

This belief of his has not been changed by democratic experiences after the country's liberation. Precisely because of him the people's everyday life is threatened and their human rights are violated. Moreover, south Korea has left ineffaceable impressions on the world. It is reported that American teachers in the US went so far as to refuse to take Christmas gifts from south Korean students. Because

of Pak Jung Hi, south Korea is isolated from the rest of the world and US troops' withdrawal has been raised as a most serious problem. Even in this situation, the Pak regime is working hard to keep Pak Jung Hi in power, saying that he is the mainstay of national security.

It is natural that the people should look upon this as a mad-dog psychology. It appears that Japan considers this sort of regime advantageous to protecting her rights and interests and that she hopes the history of Showa which supported the "Manchurian Empire" will repeat itself.

January 25, 1977

Serious Theology

A copy of the clandestine document signed by the "Central Executive Committee of Korean Struggle Association for Democracy" was detected in a dark corner of the staircase of Seoul Metro on the morning of January 19. Ten thousand copies are said to have been distributed. This document includes five parts under the respective titles: "Statement," "Declaration of Struggle for Democracy," "Programme," "Resolution" and "Slogans." I would like to reproduce here the full text of the "Statement" alone.

"Freedom- and peace-loving nationals, and all citizens throughout the world!

"We have formed the 'Korean Struggle Association for Democracy' (KSAD) with a view to overthrowing the one-man tyranny by Pak Jung Hi, the foe of peace of mankind, traitor to the 50 million Korean nation and violator of the human rights of 30 million nationals. The 'KSAD' has carried forward

the traditions of the continuous national revolution struggle such as the spirit of the Volunteers Movement and March First Independence Movement that played a vanguard role in the anti-imperialist struggle sparkling in our nation's chronicles as well as the April 19 Revolution. It now embraces the people of all walks of life, representing the mainstream in the movement against dictatorship and for democracy.

"Convinced that a reckless and ostentatious struggle defrauds the history and the state, we will wage a substantial struggle for the democratic revolution.

"Internally, we shall be lenient enough to take in even those who have so far collaborated with the dictator but now wish to come over to us under the KSAD's banner, repentant for their past blunders.

"Externally, we shall hail any solidarity struggle and any form of support, since we believe there is no boundary in defending liberty and peace. And we pledge ourselves to strive for freedom and peace of the world's people even after achieving our aim.

"Nationals championing liberty and peace, and citizens throughout the world!

"Our firm unity alone can wipe the dictators off the face of the earth. And it will bring freedom, peace, equality and humanity.

"All democratic forces the world over, push on to topple down the dictatorship!"

The "Statement" was made public in the name of "Chairman Han Min Sung." Many are pleased to note the sagacity displayed in naming that way, for it means that democracy will emerge victorious in south Korea.

The first article of the "Resolution" says that the "single line of struggle against dictatorship" shall be laid down in order to "overthrow one-man despotism by Pak Jung Hi." It was well-prepared state-

ment written in a clear hand. The name "Han Min Sung," too, I believe, came from deep meditation. Nor is this all. They have a good external sense. And they did not forget to put in the English name (Korean Struggle Association for Democracy—KSAD) of the organization. A friend of mine commented on the statement:

"The public peace authorities lost no time to confiscate it. At first I wondered if it wasn't a trick of the KCIA because I found it so well-reasoned. But it has too great impact to be a KCIA's trick. It is strange that the competent KCIA has not yet found any clue to the case nor is it arresting the suspects at random. I think it must be undoubtedly an act of those who are close to us. Anyway, they are a group operating deftly and purposefully with an international sense, I believe."

The sentences passed on December 29 last year on those involved in the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation look somewhat shorter than at the time of the first trial. In case of Kim Ji Ha, too, the penalty was reduced from 10 to 7 years. This is construed as a signal given to the United States by the Pak regime for its readiness to shrink a little from the problem of human rights should it be allowed to prolong its life. Of late Pak Jung Hi has been attending to every matter with the US in mind. He reportedly showed a "get-tough" attitude in his interview with the home reporters, saying that although the United States had pressed him to step down it was impossible. It is, I think, a kind of threatening statement intended to spread the rumour for the US side to see his stiff posture. Besides, I was told that Chang Gi Yong called on ex-President Yun Bo Son recently. Chang is the owner

of the *Hanguk Ilbo* and ex-Director of the Economic Planning Board under the Pak regime. He is one of the back-stage operators for Pak.

His purpose in the visit was to ask Yun to take up the task of flying to the United States and dissuading it from pulling out its troops. At the time Yun is said to have given the following retort:

"I've warned the government against that question since three years ago. The US troops will pull out some day, anyhow, though it looks somewhat premature now. Nowadays in particular, this question is further stirring up public opinion on account of the suppression of human rights by the Pak regime. I, on my part, have no word to say to the US side under such undemocratic circumstances."

Right after the passing of judgments at the second instance on December 29 last year, all the families of the imprisoned issued a statement censuring the unreasonable decisions and expressing their conviction that God would absolve them. In conclusion, the statement said, "We are grateful to different countries in the world for their deep concern and encouragement to the struggle for restoration of human rights and democracy in this country." The two personages, Rev. Li Hae Dong and Prof. An Byong Mu were set free on probation. Rev. Li remarked:

"I was surprised at the fact that publication of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation became an event of worldwide concern, affecting the world's churches. I was moved when the words reached me in prison that the problem of south Korean churches cannot be put on the shelf in discussing universal Christianity at present. I've never dreamed that my small church, the Hanbit Church, would hold an important place among them. I have survived this cold weather while in prison.

Everything is endurable even behind bars. Most intolerable of all is that those who are outside prison—my family, friends and church—are in distress. Dr. Li Mun Yong told me when I was leaving prison: 'Please, tell my wife that it will be too bad if the two of us collapse and that she should keep up her spirits at least for the sake of our children.' The sufferings of our beloved ones tormented us more than our own. I've been released from prison earlier than others. This weighs on my mind as though I committed a crime. I'm going to do any work under your instructions."

The audience burst into laughter, saying: "You've never repented of your sins though you were thrown into prison." It is said that once a man as gentle as a rabbit is jailed, he becomes as strong as a tiger. That seems true. No one can switch courses in this struggle. Then Prof. An Byong Mu said:

"I didn't know what probation was like. In the bus on my way home, someone told me what it meant. This set me crying, because I was tormented by the thought that I was alone in being discharged from prison, leaving my comrades to the mercy of tribulations, and because I felt myself left out in the cold. The Catholics, Protestants and politicians have come to form the indestructible, close-knit relations while in prison. We found time to map out the action plan on our way to court, in the bus or at a break for lunch. We whispered with each other even in court. They tried to silence us at first but abandoned the effort in the long run. Taking advantage of it, we exchanged informations, too. Religion was the main topic of our conversations. I was impressed at the deep faith followed by Mr. Kim Dae Jung. I had planned to mention Mr. Kim Ji Ha's faith in my last statement but forgot to tell it, the most important

thing. I remember what happened when he was released from prison after the case of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students. He said to me that he seemed to have acquainted himself with the quintessence of Christian faith in prison, though a little, adding that he wanted to call on me to confirm it. Apprehensive of his poor health, I answered that I would pay him a visit, but he was imprisoned again before I had a chance to do that. I was terribly worried about him while in prison.... I was chucked out from prison. The fortitude of my friends around me made me stout-hearted, though I'm a man of feeble constitution, hardly able to do anything at all. The affixing of my signature to a sheet of paper has caused such a big trouble to myself, south Korea and its churches. We should not reconcile ourselves only to a reasonable thought in approaching things. God regards even a very trifling matter as something serious transcending human wisdom, as pointed out in the Bible. This serious theology should be called to account in our situation.... As for those in prison, you don't need to worry much about them. Rev. Yun Ban Ung had an attack of diarrhoea. Rev. So Nam Dong takes a cold rub-down with a wet towel twice a day. The faith of ordinary believers is so strong that the pastors and Catholic priests often find themselves in awkward position. Mr. Kim Dae Jung and others propose at every opportunity to stage a hunger strike. 'The pastors and fathers may be starved to death, if only they do as the ordinary believers want them to.' So saying, they had a laugh. It is impossible to keep the gate of prison shut for long. Countless people greet us in the morning when we are let out for washing. They are all strangers to us. The news of our imprisonment reached all the inmates within half an hour following our arrival in prison. So, they tried hard to

send in their bread and the like to us, heedless to the fact that they would have a hell of a time if they are caught doing it. From this we sensed that a new era was dawning. Even thieves assumed the attitude full of affection. Such was the way the people felt towards us.

“When I was hesitantly leaving the prison with a touch of regret today, Mr. Kim Dae Jung encouraged me with the words: ‘Go out and fight. Try to lay the theological foundations for the future of south Korea.’ I responded to him with: ‘Do you mean a new theology?’ ‘I mean a genuine theology,’ he said. The feeling that the eighteen personages are united in a body will remain unchanged in the rest of their life. Mr. Kim went so far as to remark that Christianity will perish should it fail to revive in south Korea. He went on: ‘It appears that Toynbee thought Christianity would be resurrected in dealing with the problem of American Negroes. But south Korea should be the first to have it restored. We should not confine ourselves to aping the things West European all the time but should create our own theology in agony for the rest of the world. It is necessary to originate the idea of unifying not only Korea but the divided world and show the way of putting it into effect!’ And he further remarked that he had thought the scientists should be politicized but now he came to think the politicians should be theologized and politics be placed on the religious foundations. Mr. Kim was a man who not only excels in intelligence but has the deep faith. For this, too, I am grateful to God. It is, I believe, one of the questions God should take up as a matter of serious concern. In prison I said my prayers, picturing to myself all of your faces one by one.”

Those who gathered that day at the Hanbit

Church in the northeastern sector of Seoul left there late at night and hurried home, fearing they should violate the midnight curfew. They walked in the darkness, their hearts throbbing with somewhat pathetic feeling. They were very sad as well as very pleased. They felt like offering prayers, hanging on to anything they could lay their hands on though they couldn't tell what it was exactly.

January 25, 1977

Whimsical Politics

It is said that as the south Korea-US scandal had been a topic of public discussion, the south Korea-Japan scandal, too, has come to draw public attention. How will the United States which caused the Watergate scandal cope with the Marygate scandal? Judging from the way Japan disposed of the Kim Dae Jung affair, it is quite easy to picture what tricks she will play this time concerning the recent scandal. It seems, therefore, that those offering sharp criticism feel a sense of defeat from the start. This time, too, Japan will assume the same posture with which she sang the tune called by the despicable Pak regime pretending to be ignorant of the stark fact at the time of the Kim Dae Jung incident. Far from changing her attitude, she will further close her ties with the Pak regime, exercising greater prudence and covering up all evidences. On February 5, six leaders of the Insam Company and the Ilhwa Pharmaceutical Company, both run by the Unification Church under the publicly recognized protection of the KCIA of the Pak regime, were arrested and charged on evasion of taxes. Another day, February 13,

witnessed the arrest of a ministerialist who is said to have taken 50 million *won* of a bribe from the representative of the Taepyong Co., Ltd. which has business relations with Japan's "Sumitomo." It is related with the introduction of fertilizers by the Agricultural Cooperative Federation, I hear. In connection with this case, a charge was also brought against Cho Jung Hun of the Taehan Air Line. They say a strong political odour of the KCIA emanates from the backdrop of such cases. The following comment of my reporter friend is worth quoting:

"At this time when the south Korea-US and south Korea-Japan scandals have become an international issue, it is important to make a gesture of doing something before the fact is brought to light. This may be necessary also in order to contend that they are all private matters which have nothing to do with the government. That is not all, I think. The Unification Church scandal may pose a problem in the United States and some scandal may crop up also in Japan to invite public criticism. In such a case at least the Pak regime or Pak Jung Hi should remain covered up at investigation. It appears an attempt is made to hold the Unification Church's property and personnel in Seoul as a hostage. As for Japan, the Pak regime may threaten her with something which is allegedly at its disposal and is enough to shake her political circles. Although the Pak regime is so tightly bound up with Japan, it often takes the anti-Japanese sentiments of the people as a weapon against her or capitalizes on her bribe-offered individuals by blackmail. Trading on man's weak points, instead of putting faith in man's goodwill, it is crushing every value, every sound human relation. What wicked acts can't the base fascists do?"

This is a hard and fast rule followed by the Pak

regime. It ascribes both the Kim Dae Jung and Pak Dong Son cases to the "individual blunders committed out of excessive faithfulness." And at least Japan is made to accept it helplessly. To work out another script of such sort, this time the Pak regime schemed to make the KCIA director a scapegoat. To cope with this, the latter asked the US embassy to ensure his personal safety. This means the script of the Kim Dae Jung case turned out to be a poor work. For this reason his boss Kim Jong Pil had spent nervous days at his farm in his native South Chungchong Province. They say he was recently called up again and is now going to depart on an overseas junket to explain the Pak regime's affairs.

It is hard to tell whether the personal safety of KCIA Director Sin Jik Su is really being ensured by the US embassy or the US imperialist Eighth Army. A word goes round that rejected by the US side, he is locked up by the Pak regime. Anyway, he has disappeared from the power elite since he resigned from his post. The deputy director of the KCIA who had to quit office because of his implication in the operation in the United States is now said to have occupied the key post in the Army Security Headquarters. It is a more authoritative post. Informing me of this, my friend explained it as open manifestation of Pak Jung Hi's intention to fight to the bitter end, spurning the pressure put on him to resign. One can hardly be trustworthy unless he is faithful enough to do anything, even evil acts. Otherwise, it is impossible to maintain his power.

The Pak regime is none other than a pack of imbecile gangsters and terrorists, though this expression might jar on its ears. Imbecile as it is, it shows a very sensitive reaction like animal in its instinct for existence. And it is shrewd enough, far from imbecile, when it comes to devilry. Such being the case,

its politics can be said to be the whimsical politics coming from that mentality.

For some reason, the practice of cutting up with scissors or blacking out with ink the newspapers from Japan stopped, entering this year. This may be out of the belief that anyone trying to read them would come to see somehow the overseas scandals of the Pak regime. The Pak regime seems to believe that if only they are kept out of the popular masses, it will suffice. It may think this is quite possible since the home newspapers are all at its service. However, its efforts to make good impression, if only a little, upon foreign countries cannot last long. Because this power is unable to pass over those critical articles with patience. Its present soft measure may be a conciliatory gesture towards the Japanese side with the approach of the south Korea-Japan negotiations including a meeting of the South Korea-Japan Assemblymen's League. Things may be restored to the original state even tomorrow by whimsical order since this is a lawless land.

The news coverage of home papers is ridiculous. They simply omit or "cut off the head and tail" of both foreign and home news accounts in the very literal sense. For instance, they compile a report in such a way as to give an impression that although President Carter takes issue with human rights in south Korea, he will come to step back in his argument for the withdrawal of the US troops under the pressure of the defence officials. Editorials insist that Japan should show an active position within the "south Korea-US-Japan defence system." On the other hand, when dealing with the statements of critical personages, the newspapers water down and "twist facts" to throw their bad image on the people. They reported that American priest James P. Sinnott critical of south Korea had placed an "anti-south Korea

advertisement echoing with the propaganda of the north" in the January 23 issue of the *New York Times*. This report is as much as to say: Quite noteworthy is the fact that he parroted "north's propaganda," claiming the withdrawal of the US troops and the termination of the military aid to south Korea, and alleging that Pak Jung Hi is preparing for northward invasion and going to plunge not only the US troops but also the whole world into the holocaust of war.

This is intended to reason the people into compliance with the Pak regime's words about "antigovernment," that is, about "sympathy with communism." The whole content of that advertisement still remains unknown to us. But we think it might have called for putting pressure on the Pak regime to stop its undemocratic rule and suppression of human rights, with a determination to withdraw the US troops from south Korea. In this connection, the KCIA agents are calling on dissidents at home to intimidate them, saying: "Now see what they look like! But you've supported them and received their support." At this, a church leader is said to have replied: "I have not the remotest idea what you mean. Even if it is the truth, all the blame falls on you since you banished Priest Sinnott."

How "consistent" the gangsters' whimsical politics is! The people live in constant suspense. And this very suspense seems to be a fertilizer indispensable to the fascist dictatorship. A prize of 1,500,000 *won* was awarded to 3,000 villages each picked out at a mass meeting of the New Village Movement. The representative of a certain village told me:

"Our village was made to breed fish. As a result, it is in debt 700,000 *won* though fish culture has brought it 500,000 *won*. The New Village Movement

goes on while there is a pressure from higher-up and funds are advanced. That's all. The cultivation of the rice, *Tongil*, was encouraged and it has brought about some increase in output. But the question is a drop in rice quality. More, as this rice plant grows short, it is impossible to make a bag with its straw. Farm households have lost their side job, a straw-bag making, and had to purchase jute sacks instead. This adds to their financial burden, and jute sacks are unfit for rice storage. Such chain reaction seems to be outside the mind of the government."

From this fact alone it is quite easy to see what whimsical politics of the Pak regime is like. Whenever things turn for the worse, the threat from the north is underscored.

More typical whimsicality finds its expression in the fact that the north was urged to "take the aid of food from a humanitarian standpoint." Pak Jung Hi made this proposal in his New Year press interview on January 12. Speaking such sheer nonsense, he tried to show off his high feathers. Needless to say, it was a propaganda for the south, rather than against the north. Nonetheless, the government officials are gadding about to hear the responses of personages of various strata, foreigners included. How ridiculous it is! Pak had thought that the foreign public, moved by the excellent humanism of south Korea, would give wide publicity to it. What on earth should we call such senseless politics?

The whimsical politics had its adverse effect on the recent examination for entrance to universities. This happened last year when Pak Jung Hi went to a vocational school. At the whim of the moment, he blurted there that a "special favour" should be conferred on the graduates of vocational schools. As a result, they, unlike those of higher schools devoted to

civic science, have come to enter vocational colleges without taking state examinations for eligibles. The rate of their admission into each college is set at up to 50 per cent. Thus, the graduates of civic higher schools have come to find it hard to enter engineering colleges in particular. This caused a big commotion. Some students changed their desired subjects of study, while others complained that they had to choose vocational schools to enter engineering or commercial colleges. The word of the President is imperative. His word should be accepted right and it leaves no room for examination. Once it drops from his lips, it acquires a terrible force seemingly enough to do great wonders then and there. No matter how silly it may be, his word is imperative. But there's no telling when and how it will change as it is flung out of whim. No one can tell how his strict order on favouring vocational school students will change tomorrow. His word always comes abruptly just like an army launches a night or surprise attack. This is the very source of unrest in the south Korean society. One can hardly organize a sound life with prospect and plan. He has to live a mutable life in suspense.

The climax of this whimsical politics was marked by the President's New Year inspection of the central government offices. On January 29 he went to the General Affairs Bureau which also manages personnel affair, and ordered it to work out the "list of the grafters" and keep it for good. Upon this order it was immediately decided to produce an "almanac for the reform of the general administrative affairs." But the problem now is how to define the grafters to be registered in the almanac that will go down through generations. In the age of the Li Dynasty the upright, able officials were registered as "clean-handed officials" after their death. Their number

narrowly added up to a little more than 190 in 400 years. In contrast, many corrupt officials were branded as "mean officials," which meant the "destruction of all their kinsfolk" to be cursed down through generations. Even while giving explanation to this historical fact, all newspapers seldom criticize Pak Jung Hi's "restorationist disposition." Government officials too sing the tune called by him to escalate the loss brought by his whimsical behavior. In face of Pak Jung Hi it is absolutely necessary to give an affirmative answer "Yes" and pretend to do some extraordinary things.

Pak Jung Hi went to the Ministry of Education and prated about "strictly enforcing man-centred education based on loyalty and filial duty." He gave the Scientific and Technical Agency "instructions as to striving to enter the ranks of the advanced countries without fail at the beginning of the 80's." At the Ministry of Culture and Public Information he ordered it to "build a national museum in Kwangju" of South Cholla Province. All these were hailed as the great decisions of the wise monarch. On February 11, he visited the Seoul Special Municipal Office and declared: "A provisional capital will be built on the area which is within a one-hour car ride along the expressway from Seoul." This was a surprise to Seoul mayor, who asked thereupon: "Will it bother you if I make it public?" At this, Pak answered back: "It's a plan I've been forming for the past two or three years. I've already instructed the newspaper offices to report it." This must be an arbitrary decision of the monarch. Now this arbitrary decision has thrown the Seoul citizens into a psychological panic. It appears this political power can hardly keep itself without giving mental shocks to the people uninterruptedly. There is even a rumour that the monopolistic purchase of land has already been wound up

through the land brokers who are associated with the higher-ups. This rumour must be circulating because every construction project hitherto has been a source of money-making for the power elites. Belated small land brokers usually suffered big losses. Because they were banned from activity or expropriated by law and power under the name of preventing the flood of speculations.

The south Korean society now seems to have gone back to the society of the Li Dynasty several hundred years ago. Under the rule of the monarch the people are keeping silence, trembling with uneasiness and displeasure. Those nobles who seek to reap benefits from power are trying to keep their own power and wealth by blindly praising the childish, whimsical "words" of the monarch. In such conditions, intellectuals and believers in particular who can be likened to a small number of sincere Confucian scholars, are attempting a lonely resistance. What is the use of living under such primitive circumstances? The newspapers are trying to give as much space as possible to the accounts of the resistance which occurred in Eastern Europe, as if they are to recover their breath in such circumstances.

February 15, 1977

THE EVE

The Fighting People

“It would be foolish, I should say, to expect the judges appointed by Pak Jung Hi to give a verdict of ‘not guilty’ to us who have demanded his resignation.”

This is a passage in the first paragraph of the statement of reasons for second appeal presented by ex-President Yun Bo Son to the Supreme Court at the end of last January. “At this *Yusin* (Revitalization) court, a stage for the dress performance of trials for dictatorship,” the statement says, “we may be found guilty. But we are not guilty. At the court of truth, the court of conscience, the court of the people, and at the court of history to be held in the not so distant future a fair judgment will be passed.” So in his statement he again expressed his view that “the Pak regime should resign.” His statement is not merely a court document but a declaration proclaiming one of the eves in the south Korean history. This declaration contained in the statement alone is enough to make him remain long in the history of this country, though far advanced in years now.

Meanwhile, the life of Pak Jung Hi on this eve is not likely to be restful. To distract the mind of the people, it is necessary to conjure up big incidents and topics to be played up in the newspapers almost every day. Clamor about “threat from the north”

seems now rather hackneyed and is not so effective as it was. Therefore, a rumour has been put into currency about the transfer of the capital, causing a great fuss. The population of Seoul is said to be limited to seven millions in the 1980's, too. Then there came suddenly the announcement of the President's talks, "Seoul will continue to develop as the capital and the transfer of administrative capital is expected in the 1980's." This is presumably aimed to impress on the people that he will remain in office until the 1980's. Anyway, this sort of row kicked up to derange the mind of the people will become intenser. It is vital for Pak Jung Hi to continue to give impression to the people that he soars over them solemnly and a shout of his will decides the fate of the whole nation. He wants to implant in the people's minds that his position is unassailable and his regime is stable, whatever wind may blow outside, no matter how loudly the people crying for democracy may censure his immoralities, or whatever social contradictions may threaten to explode.

It is a fact that so far these efforts have proved a fair success. Such an illusion, however, is sure to crumble like a castle on the sands. That is why the power elite feels uneasy and has to keep reproducing such a great incident. To display their ability, they will continue to make irregularities and corruption of the financial magnates an object of attack. By this means, they will be able to turn the people's grudge against them to the rich and bureaucrats, their accomplices. They have ever so many pretexts for that. And the victims are usually not the pivotal figures of the political and economic powers but the people around them. This method is also effective in further encouraging the loyalty of the bureaucrats and financial circles. Every south Korean is now aware that if he incurs the power's displeasure, it

is the end of him.

If things go worse, Pak Jung Hi may order a massacre. The rumour is widely afloat that there will be preventive arrest of intellectuals. Probably, this is intended for a threatening effect. A friend, university professor, expressed his wishful thinking: "They may be intimidating us into silence by the possibility of such a massacre. In case it really happens, will there be any soldier or policeman who feels himself safe, levelling his gun at the people?"

The first and foremost problem is not the survival of south Korea but that of Pak Jung Hi. This alone will enable all those who praise the present regime to continue to enjoy the pleasure of plunder. One friend murmured in a pathetic voice:

"According to the statistics of 1975, 90 per cent of the gross national income was in the hands of those accounting for four per cent of the entire nation. In 1981, 95 per cent of it is expected to go to one per cent of the people. How can one remain without lamenting over this reality?"

He was weeping, to be sure. The population of Seoul is reported to be over seven millions. It is presumed, however, that in Seoul there are nearly one million floating population without resident registration. They are not recognized as citizens. They are in hiding like criminals. He explained me, citing figures. For instance, the rural population was 14.6 millions in 1960. But in 1976 it dropped to 13.2 millions. These figures probably show the extent of the maintenance capability of the south Korean countryside. The annual rate of natural increase of the rural population is three per cent. In this period, the urban population showed an increase as well. Employment by the workshops with more than ten

hands swelled from 350,000 to 2 millions. Judging from the natural increase of the rural population in the same period, those who have quit the countryside must be estimated at about eight millions. Then the question arises as to the whereabouts of some six millions, he said.

It is under this situation that those desirous of retaining power and wealth regard the survival of Pak Jung Hi as the foremost task. And, for the present they are making every possible effort to win the support of the Carter Administration. A fierce struggle is being waged by those on the movement for democracy who consider the present to be the darkness on the eve of the liberation. With the first anniversary of the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation coming round, there was a great sway in the situation. On February 21, a special mass for the imprisoned was held in Myongdong Cathedral. On their way to the mass, six family members of those kept in custody were wheeled off by a police mini-bus. They were released after more than three hours' drive under the "escort" of over twenty policemen.

On February 22, the Supreme Court sat in session to repeal the decision given at the second trial of Pastor Ko Yong Gun. In his sermon Pastor Ko had criticised the Pak regime. He had said that it had been a shame to enlarge the graveyard of Pak's late wife and invite even foreigners to pay homage to it. His words had been concluded to be not a false rumour but based on a well-known fact. Hence, the High Court has to hold again the second trial at which a two-year prison sentence was handed down to him.

There has been a wide-spread opinion that it may bring about a mild thaw in the Pak regime's attitude toward anti-government political offenders.

Speculation has been rife that it was a sign of the move to release those implicated in the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. But I am strongly inclined to believe what one friend informed me of as a news from the KCIA source. He said that as it happened, it was a mere show of courage by the judges of the Criminal Affairs Division of the Supreme Court and, therefore, it does not signify a change in the general situation. It may be a sort of unavoidable resistance put up by the judiciary under dictatorship. On this account, the Supreme Court, my friend added, will be placed under stricter surveillance, and those judges will meet with a great misfortune in personal affairs. The still small voice, nevertheless, is ringing out somewhere only to be hushed up in less than no time.

In February, too, many people were arrested for spreading false rumours. The arrest of many Opposition members is observed as an attempt to remove the hawks of the opposition parties. March 1st this year marks the 58th anniversary of the March 1st Independence Movement in 1919 and, at the same time, the first anniversary of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. So, extraordinary alert order has been given out. April 19 is the anniversary of the 1960 Student Revolution. Rumour is rife that students, too, will make a move in some ways. In order to gain perfect control over the month of resistance by force, the police, KCIA and army investigation department are now under general mobilization. Between late February and early March a measure for house confinement was taken throughout the country against those implicated in the democratization movement. A number of fathers, priests and families of those in prison were unable to move about. Bishop Chi Hak Sun in Wonju

too was forbidden to go up to Seoul. The mayor and the chief of the police station of Wonju came to explain the reason for his house arrest. The secretary of ex-President Yun Bo Son too was hauled away. He was released after being intimidated with a threat that a further move of Yun might invite harm on the lives of his family. On March 7 a statement of protest was made public in the name of "all the persons forcibly put under house arrest on the occasion of March 1st."

Scandals have been made up about those related to the churches and are circulated on a big scale. Letters on them are sent freely here and there. But such mails as church's invitations to a prayer meeting for the imprisoned and its notices of gathering are held back or empty envelopes alone are delivered. And, when it was decided to hold a meeting in protest against such practices, the mails in question arrived that day. Telling this, a man related to the churches laughed with scorn.

Resistant people are compelled to apply guerrilla tactics in a large measure and exercise greater mental faculties. When going to give a lecture at a rally in a rural village church, one must turn up at the meeting hall all of a sudden before the KCIA gets wind of it. For it cannot haul him away in the public eye. But in such a case, policemen infallibly force their way into the hotel in midnight under the pretext of on-the-spot investigation and examine even his things at hand. And early in the next morning he is escorted back to Seoul with only the clothes on his back.

An Byong Mu, who was released at the close of last year, suffered this treatment in late February. In his absence six detectives came to search his house. Blocking the entrance, his wife did not let them enter the room. The confrontation, I am told,

continued till the next afternoon. The night was cold, but she had to keep up resistance with no winter clothes on.

Wives under house arrest are said to have pasted up strips of paper inscribed with "Miari Prison" or "Suyu Prison" on the outside walls of their houses. This meant their houses in Miari or Suyu were turned into a prison. Detectives and agents on surveillance duty are said to have torn them off and remained mute and silent.

Another statement was issued on February 28 by nine persons without being restrained physically though they were implicated in the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. Their intended interview with journalists was obstructed, and all of them were barred from attendance. But they are said to have handed out copies of the statement to foreign correspondents. The following is found in the opening sentences of the statement:

"We nine feel pain as if our flesh were torn and bones ground, thinking of our nine colleagues who, still left behind the bar, are passing the livelong days and nights alone, struggling with the severe cold in the icy prison cells with their walls and ceilings covered with hoar frost. And we feel painful beyond endurance as we remain outside the prison."

The two-part statement claimed their innocence and demanded the immediate release of all conscientious offenders. It calls to mind the fact that the heaviest penalty at the time of the March 1st Independence Movement in 1919 was three years' prison term and that in the case of the declaration of independence made by the Korean students studying in Tokyo, the maximum penalty was one year

in jail. It runs in part: "Isn't it too ruthless and tragic that people should receive heavy penalties from their own men for the advocacy of genuine freedom and democracy of their own nation in their own country?" Then, it calls for reaching a definite decision for the "glorious fatherland," on condition that this year has been marked as "the year of releasing conscientious offenders" and that there is a sign of the move to cry for freedom and behave according to one's conscience on a world-wide scale. It concludes with the following resolution:

"So long as the locked-up conscience of this country is not released, our struggle for justice, freedom and human rights shall never stop."

"All the families of those implicated in the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation," too, protested against the harsh imposition of heavy penalties in "political retaliation."

A service of worship was held at the Christian Hall at 11 a.m. of March 1 in commemoration of the anniversary of the March 1st Independence Movement. Important personages were absent because of house confinement. Li U Jong, president of the Church Women United, and the wife of Mun Ik Hwan, a drafter of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation, ran to the hall from the houses of their friends where they had been in hiding from the day before. The meeting closed with the cheers of "Long live democracy!" led by Mrs. Mun Ik Hwan, when she was forcibly pushed into a car together with Li U Jong. This caused bruises all over their bodies, I hear.

It was drizzling in the evening. A big commemorative mass was held in Myongdong Cathedral as last

year. A number of fathers were not present because of house arrest. At the mass a detailed report was made about the house arrest of churchmen throughout the country.

A commemorative service was also held in the church in a slum, residents' church whose priest had been thrown into prison. According to the report, the members of that church had been hauled away to be put to all sorts of torture. Many people were barred from attending this service, too. Rumour went round that at the court the priest of the church challenged the chief judge, saying "The judiciary is a tonic for fattening the power elite."

In commemoration of the March 1st anniversary a divine service was also held in Kwangju, South Cholla Province, where four churchmen had been jailed for the case of the Second Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. On the occasion of the March 1st anniversary, the Presbyterians with a high degree of social consciousness issued a statement in demand of the guarantee of citizens' basic rights and freedom of preaching. In last February their church protested against the "incident of ruthless torture" of four missionaries who "had been taken off, stripped naked and heavily beaten to become insensible without justification" last January. It demanded the Minister of Home Affairs to take a definite measure against those who had done them such an injustice and inform it of the result.

Around March 1, the nine personages including Kim Dae Jung implicated in the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation and many students performed a fast of three day's duration in prison. Ham Sok Hon wrote a letter addressed to Pak Jung Hi in which he advised him, to resign. This is a known fact abroad, but not made public at home. To his regret, before being posted,

the letter is said to have been confiscated at the time of the domiciliary search, so it might not have reached Pak who ought to read it.

The letter was written in a mild and yet stern tone as if admonishing a disciple who went astray. The letter asks Pak Jung Hi who has never enjoyed respect and affection of the people:

“Have you ever smiled at the people? Have you ever walked among the people, waving your hands? Have you ever had a talk with people to get to know what they want?”

Pak Jung Hi did not try to get a deep grasp of the history of this country. He was ignorant of the general trend of the world's history. He must hold himself responsible for the prevailing situation in this country. Then the letter concludes:

“If you really have a mind to work for the eternal future of the nation and country, this is the time for you to make a courageous decision and retire from office voluntarily to provide the people with an opportunity to discharge the duty of turning a misfortune into a blessing in a peaceful atmosphere. Then the nation and you will all see glad days. Otherwise, the inexorable law of history will not leave things as they are. It will spell a great disaster to you and the nation. I hope this will never happen.”

These lines reflect the voice of the nation. They are something like a memorial to the Throne presented by a conscientious Confucian in the Monarchic Age, because Pak Jung Hi really is a dynastic monarch. When will the day come when a figure with a lofty idea and noble spirit of devotion to the cause of the nation appears in this country and rules over

the nation with administration ability and keen senses for the reality? Should we attribute such a drift of thought to the fact that the people of this country have not yet been awakened from the dream of the righteous government in the Confucian era?

Among the attendants in a service of worship held at a certain church on February 27 was a girl student who had been released after serving a two-year prison term. She had a bad heart before, and is now suffering from T.B., too, I hear. Nonetheless, she is said to have exchanged compliments, saying, "If it is God's will, I'm ready to go back to prison again." A friend of mine told this to me with swimming eyes. Indeed, it is an indomitable struggle. We can say these women have really grown up while struggling under harsh conditions. The KCIA is said to have become nervous about the Thursday prayer meetings attended by many students and journalists. Deans of students in each university and college are mobilized to stand at the entrance to the meeting halls to pick up students. Recently items in foreign newspapers and magazines are again cut up or blacked out with ink.

The Poor

Rumour is afloat that two or three days ago Ham Sok Hon was hauled off while demonstrating singly before the Seoul City Hall in demand of the Pak regime's resignation. On March 5, the members of the Democratic Unification Party headed by Ryang Il Dong were held back from staging demonstration. It was a sight to see because several hundred young party members were mobilized. They shouted over loudspeaker in demand of the resignation of the Pak

regime from the third floor of the party office near the entrance to Uljiro Street in the heart of Seoul. This continued from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. The police could not go inside the office as its entrance was blocked by the barricade. Using an aerial ladder, they climbed up to the third floor but in vain, for the loudspeaker was withdrawn and the window closed. This affair went on for three hours. The citizens who happened to pass by were rather amazed at the possibility of demanding even the Pak regime's resignation in the centre of Seoul. But oddly enough, their faces showed no emotion other than a dubious look. After informing me of the event, my friend added his view:

"That is the outcome of giving in to the claim of the party hawks. But this time too, the party is treated leniently despite the trouble. Wasn't it intended to see whether citizens could be stirred up by the shout of an opposition party, I wonder? There may be a shrewd trick behind it. Anyway, the opposition parties are now in no position to stir up the citizens. People think there is no knowing what is inside them and what is behind their moves. Under the Pak regime the opposition parties are completely crippled. Only conscientious intellectuals like Ham Sok Hon retain their moral strength. This may be a sad thing for a political future."

Hence, those put under house arrest before and after March 1 were not members of the opposition parties, but churchmen, families of the imprisoned, intellectuals and youths. If five or six of these people have any gathering, they are placed under surveillance of more than ten KCIA agents and policemen. Though aware of such an influence of conscientious intellectuals, some university professors and the

like behave as cowardly as a sneak, fearing that they might lose their positions.

Recently it was reported that a strange case occurred at the college entrance examination in Kwangju, South Cholla Province. Eleven applicants who had passed the intellectual examination were rejected, allegedly because they got D grade in the character test. Most of them were those who had passed the qualifying examination for the completion of high school course after being sacked for their implication in school strike and demonstration while at high school. The ostensible reason was their failure in the intellectual examination. Such was a matter of common occurrence in the days of Japanese rule. Should we say that the worst practice of oppression of the people during Korea's Li Dynasty and Japanese rule has been wholly revived in the present age?

I cannot but feel that the ghost of the past is strutting in the relation with Japan, too. The most symbolic of this is probably the case of the used oil imported under the name of "reclamation import." The bulk of 4,000 tons of imported used oil which is pollutional is left in the open in a state of neglect.

Many problems are involved in the case. Behind it cooperate the evil intentions of both the south Korean and the Japanese tradesmen. And it is the degraded south Korean bureaucrats that make it possible. For the Japanese tradesmen to earn money, even through such mean transaction, there should be such degenerated political powers as in south Korea today. And these powers should firmly suppress the people's protest against such practices of corruption. And the present power may be one suited to the Japanese tradesmen.

Under the prevailing rigid situation, the used oil case, too, was not raised by south Koreans, its victim. On the contrary, it was known belatedly to south Ko-

rea only after it came up before the Japanese Diet. How cynical it is that a case came into question through some sort of self-criticism by the person who had caused damage while the victim was forced into silence!

It may be said that the relations between south Korea and Japan as revealed in the used oil case are symbolic of the whole aspect of their present adhesion. This adhesion is extended to every sphere from the level of the political power down to that of small enterprises. A young fellow working in a trade agent said with a sigh:

“Japanese merchants are too much of a speculator. They may be thinking it would be wise to run a venture of short terms in this troubled south Korea. When they come on an official trip they are given by our side all kinds of hospitality including the *kisaeng*-girl party. When all these are taken into account, it doesn't pay sometimes. Though, we need to cling to them in order to keep ourselves on the move. European merchants come on their own account, but occasionally Japanese merchants get off without paying anything after promising to place a premium. This probably is what is called south Korean-style dealings. But it may be also due to the excessive inroad of their small enterprises.”

Some may say that in order to gain profits in this situation, one cannot but be privy to criminal dealings such as the used oil case. This also brings to my mind the situation on the eve of the fall of the Li Dynasty. At that time, too, Japanese loafers, small tradesmen and speculators strutted across the Korean Peninsula. This was made possible by the illicit tie-up of the then Korean and Japanese political powers. Such being the relations between south Korea

and Japan, the prolongation of the Pak regime is most powerfully supported by the power of Japan. I was really shocked to hear the following story from a journalist who had been to Masan:

“In Masan there are female workers who earn 250 *won* a day. They receive 6,250 *won* per month for 25 work days. And that is the case with Japanese enterprises. As Japanese enterprises gain profits under such conditions, it may be natural that Fukuda government should be grateful to the Pak regime for that. Japanese probably think to themselves that they ought to get thanks because they still pay 250 *won* a day where there is no job to get. But due to such a tie-up, the whole of this society has become crooked.”

It happened about a week ago. Newspapers carried a photo which allegedly won the “gold needle prize” in France. It was a snapshot of two south Korean orphan sisters embracing each other on the occasion of their reunion at the De Gaulle airport after they were taken to Switzerland and Holland as “stepdaughters”. They were “adopted as stepdaughters” by different “parents” four years ago when they were three and one years old each. The elder sister said she could recognize her sister at the sight of her eyes. And her long-awaited-for reunion with her sister was realized at last. Four years ago they must have left the motherland at the Kimpo airport in Seoul, crying “Mamma, mamma” or “Sister, sister”. It is one of almost regular piteous airport scenes which continue to be presented even today.

I have a circle magazine now by me. It is called *Acacia* which was put out by the female workers of the Chonggye clothes-making mill branch under the National Federated Labour Unions. It is an illegible

mimeograph copy. They set up a labour classroom and the like, I hear, in order to struggle to carry forward the spirit of the young worker, Chon Tae Il, who committed suicide in 1970 by setting himself a-flame in demand of the improvement of working conditions. The magazine gives tear-provoking records of their struggle. It is full of powerful words denouncing the present situation. Let me introduce a passage here.

“We are by no means their slaves, nor are we machines. We are absolutely human beings. Nonetheless, they are working us at will like their slaves. While we are working by sweating blood, they are enjoying nice food and drink and dancing with ladies. They are reluctant to accept even a *ten-won* wage rise. When the wage hiking is inevitable, they wear a look of a benefactor who grants a special favor. They make an angry frown when the workers are slightly late at mill, and yet they put off the closing hour arbitrarily and even cut the lunch time. Is this a world where money can do everything? By means of violence called money they are bullying us, the weak people, so much.”

The female workers declared that though they had been taught they could improve their life by industry it was a sheer lie. Newspapers, too, reported a tragic accident in a thermometres-manufacturing factory. The use of mercury and hardening adhesive causes red freckles on the skin and its peeling. A person is said to have died from skin poisoning. There are even ten-year-old girl workers at the clothes-making mill where the magazine *Acacia* is put out. Many female workers there suffer from tuberculosis owing to the twelve to seventeen hours' work a day. If they reveal it, they are sure to be sacked. Their initial wage is

said to be 10,000 *won*, but, in no small cases, lower than that. On March 10, the Labour Day, that is, the workers' day, the government announced that it would limit the minimum wage to 20,000 *won*. That day it advocated cooperation between labour and capital.

The genuine Labour Day for the people was observed by some 2,000 men gathered in the evening that day in Myongdong Cathedral where the "Declaration of Workers' Rights" was adopted. A passage in the opening paragraph of the declaration runs:

"Workers' rights are their natural endowments, which are of great significance in social and economic development. Therefore, their rights are guaranteed by law and as dignified as to be infringed upon on no account. It is much to be regretted, however, that under the plausible pretext of national security and economic development their basic rights are encroached upon and inhuman sufferings are repeatedly inflicted upon them in violation of the very existing labour law. We deem it a crime to be tolerated no more. Rejecting the undemocratic, feudalistic relations between labour and capital which demand unconditional compliance with the working hours and production quota imposed arbitrarily by entrepreneurs in disregard of the will of the workers who offer labour power, we demand the relations between labour and management to be established on an equal footing befitting free men."

The "Declaration of Workers' Rights" puts forward a 13-point demand including the guaranteeing of three labour rights—organization, collective bargaining and collective action—and the repeal of the Emergency Decrees. It also denounces the powers for siding always with entrepreneurs and the labour

unions for their turning into government-patronized organizations. What they call the South Korean Federation of Trade Unions is in fact no more than a branch of the KCIA. The labour problem institute attached to a certain university in Seoul is giving labour education to the KCIA agents. An establishment for workers, it can be said, has thus been converted into a tool to suppress them. As denounced in the declaration, the government's aim is to transmute the labour movement into the New Village Movement to induce workers to initiate a movement for attaining a 120 per cent growth in production. The KCIA is interfering in all affairs of administration. Its violent conception throws all the administrative affairs into confusion.

The conversion of the South Korean Federation of Trade Unions into a branch of the KCIA has compelled the labour movement to secede from the former labour unions.

The declaration also lays bare the fact that workers are intimidated for their relation with Christianity. It is because the Catholics and Protestants are jointly supporting the righteous labour movement.

Truly, labour problems are becoming acuter in south Korea. This is probably the reason why factories have been built in alienated places and military control is introduced there, as is the case with Changwon, South Kyongsang Province, a new industrial zone which includes war industry. In Seoul and Inchon, factories are located in the streets and undergo constant social influence. There those connected with Christianity can render support to the labour movement. That is why the Pak regime is scheming to keep all the industries of this country in outlying districts and place them under military control.

As a matter of fact, spinning mills with many women workers have recently become a principal source

of constant anxiety. The typical case may be the struggle of the Tongil Spinning Mill in Incheon on which I reported before. Women workers there were very lively in their labour union activity. So, the company administration, in collusion with the KCIA and the reptile labour union, dismissed the chairman and 14 other cadres of the genuine labour union. Thereupon, the women workers inside and outside the mill planned to rise up simultaneously and hold a big protest rally in Myongdong Cathedral in early March. It is said that more than 2,000 invitations were sent to important nongovernment personages. Scared at this, the KCIA gave pressure to the company administration and the labour union to reinstate all of them to settle the dispute.

Thus the rally was suddenly called off. Yet, that day as many as 1,500 people gathered in Myongdong Cathedral. They were given notice of suspension of the rally and turned out, I hear. The Namyong Nylon Company too is said to have reinstated the fired female workers and dismissed four managers instead. The fighting spirit of female workers mounted higher and it was thanks to their vigor that the recent March 10th Labour Day meeting was held. I hear some have been hauled off. Maybe, they are undergoing severe torture. Above are stories never reported in the press and hardly known to the public. My friend who passed them to me added:

"KCIA operations seem to have reached the limit. The only way out might be the military control that excels the KCIA. Then, that army might topple the political power before everything. Anyway, the struggle of those women workers is wonderful. They called on the chairman of the Spinning Workers' Committee of the South Korean Federation of Trade Unions and did collective violence to him, rebuking his servility to power. His white shirt was ripped before he took

to flight. The labour movement is so excessively suppressed that if trouble arises, it is liable to lead to such violence. It makes me think as if we were on the eve of a popular uprising."

He then touched on the removed slum quarters in Seoul as a scene resembling that on the eve of a popular uprising. The poor quarters, among others, were cleared off under the pretext of beautifying the city. So, now slumdwellers live in makeshift tents pitched up in inconspicuous places such as hollows, vales between hills or on the other side of the railway. There are more than 30 such slums in Seoul alone. Each of them consists of 70 to 400 households. Even the law is not binding there. In most cases, one house holds ten persons. Strangers are received with angry eyes and can hardly approach the dwellers. My friend said that looking squarely into the inside of the country, he could not but feel that, unlike its gilded outside, it was a cavern pervaded with great unrest.

It is no wonder that the women workers resolutely rose up like that. The "Declaration of Workers' Rights" demands the eight-hour day and the minimum monthly wage of 30,000 *won*. When referring to wages in various statistics, the government has so far usually added 10,000 *won* to the actual figure. It never gives an account of the workers' health. Some 30 per cent of the women workers, however, suffer from gastrointestinal troubles. Injuries during work, that is, the so-called industrial calamities, in factories across the country account for 20 per cent. Newspapers, too, played up the story of a 13-year-old juvenile worker who lost two legs. Working 14 hours a day, he was paid 24,000 *won* per month. His master is too poor to pay the hospital fee for him. He is said to have muttered to himself in bed, "If I don't

work, my family will go hungry....” How inhuman the state of things is! Stifling the voices denouncing it, the powers sing the praises of this world as much as to say it is theirs.

Vehement, therefore, is the people’s resentment against the KCIA scandal of giving dollars freely in the United States to buy its support to the present power. Money, it is said, also flowed from the KCIA to the Hudson Institute of so-called futurologist Hermann Kahn who often praised the Pak regime for its great exploits. Harvard University too has reportedly received a contribution of one million dollars from the KCIA. When such an information reaches our ears, our thought at once drifts to “What about Japan?”

I wonder whether Japan really has the so-called self-purification ability enough to expose such affairs to the world as the United States has done. Will the poor in south Korea and the rest of the world pin their hope upon it alone? Isn’t it too sad an eve? I wonder this year will remain a year of sufferings.

March 14, 1977

APRIL DECLARATION

The Dawn

The faculty and the student body, awake from sleep! The storm of black tyranny is raging over the dried-up predawn earth. It has been long since the present undemocratic, anti-national regime stripped off its sheepskin and bore its wolfish fangs!

Playing with the saying, "Power must not be held more than ten years," those in power are conjuring up a new, vicious and cruel myth. Do we ever have the word "democracy?" And do we ever have the words "human rights?"

What is left with us now is only dimming consciousness and the cooling flesh. The south Korean people, get yourselves on the move! Rub your dreamy eyes and rise up! Let's blow our hot breath into this society in which people watch and distrust each other.

These are the first passages of leaflets titled "The Dawn," which were scattered in bundles on the campus of Seoul University on April 1. The leaflet denounces the fact that the case of Pak Dong Son's unpatriotic bribery amounting to 20 million dollars was announced to the public at home as his present made with 45,000 dollars out of his private funds. When those swindlers, it points out, are enjoying sumptuous feasts, "our brothers and sisters are be-

coming emaciated from malnutrition", peace on campuses is trampled upon because of their conversion into "pleasure-grounds for the groups of plain-clothed detectives" and "only degenerated lessons are imposed there." Its last passage reads: "Look into the reality squarely! In order to raise a tree called democracy which will put forth flowers to justify the expense of immeasurable effort, blood and sweat!" The leaflet was done in the name of "The Seoul University Student Association for the Restoration of Democracy."

The path they have chosen may, indeed, be a path that requires "immeasurable effort, blood and sweat." Campuses have been turned into barracks owing to the organization of the Student Defence League and military drills. A university professor said in a tone near to self-scorn:

"We are prison guards rather than teachers. Due to the prohibition of political activities, campuses are becoming more and more political. Teachers who keep mum about social justice are mocked by students. A talk over death or life would provoke their laughter. And a stress on the necessity to study hard would be responded with 'How can we study under these circumstances?' Students always try to know whether their teachers belong to the pro-government or the anti-government group. Campuses are lying in ruins."

Great purification is conducted in the shrines of Japan. This must be from the need to expel evil spirits. There is *salpuri* or exorcism in the south Korean shamanism, which can be interpreted as liberation from bigotry. When free from it, this nation will be able to display immeasurable energy to achieve a great thing. In the present repressive atmosphere the whole of this nation is only getting more

and more degenerated.

Certainly the masses are in the depth of despair. Pak Jung Hi will in no circumstances let go his hold of power. He secures control of all the vital points of mass resistance. Afraid of the United States' possible manoeuvrings, he is busy with preventive measures. So, many people share the view that any resistance will only spell greater sacrifice on the part of the masses and bring no result. They are in the grip of a petty-bourgeois sense of uneasiness that if anything happens, it will give rise to a great confusion and deprive them of even their humble living which they have now barely managed to enjoy.

The leaflet "The Dawn," too, laments over such a state of mind. Taking advantage of this petty-bourgeois mentality, the political power thinks it can do anything only if it puts up the slogan of "patriotism" or "anti-communism." Such a political vice results in breeding unreasonable senses among people. This is, indeed, appalling.

The KCIA is spreading the rumours of all hues among such people. Many of recent rumours are those related especially to the United States. Unable to speak openly through the papers out of consideration for the US, they make use of the mouth media which now seem to be more influential means than newspapers. Very singular is this logic of the Pak regime designed for the manipulation of the popular masses.

With regard to the KCIA scandal in the US, they observe: "That's not a matter peculiar to south Korea. Many countries are doing that. Why, then, do you make an issue of south Korea alone? It is used as an excuse for the withdrawal of the US troops. Was the bribery, in fact, not a manifestation of patriotic effort to prevent the withdrawal of the US troops, far from being anything for Pak Jung Hi himself?"

They also say: "President Carter is in bad terms with the US big businesses. And import restrictions may lead to the bankruptcy of their economic policy. Sharp inflation may tie them up." As for diplomacy on human rights, it will, according to their view, surely reach its limits sooner or later in communist countries or in South America. And the most scathing comment is that after suffering one setback after another, President Carter will share the same fate with President Kennedy. Uneasy as they are, they have not the slightest mind to hope for the bright future. They rather have even such terrorist craftiness as to eagerly look forward to another Kennedy's tragedy.

A gloomy air is felt in the talks among intellectuals. When their talks drift even slightly to politics, they would say: "Let's break off. It is helpless. Anyhow we have to eke out an existence together with our families." This means no amount of talk will bring any change but a risk. This is a feeling shared by ordinary persons. This is an age of forfeited will. It sometimes may be ascribed to such a way of thinking that no change would take place even if the present regime were replaced and that maintaining the status quo is preferable to running the risk of causing confusion. Yet, when they find an occasion to get into lively discussion, they launch out in an angry voice:

"In spite of 16 years in power, he still tries to continue to hold the reins of government. Forsaken by the United States, the greatest friendly country, can it claim to be able to ensure the security of the south? No one, a civilian or an armyman, sees its possibility. People keenly feel that it cannot be done by the force that hoodwinks and suppresses the people just to live in splendour. I wonder how he could urge it when he ought to resign so that every-

thing can be readjusted for the sake of the country and the security he always clamours for. This country seems to be going down with him."

At present south Koreans are generally engrossed only in their daily life, submitting to necessity, unable to speak about such a matter. Bereft of political freedom, man cannot but devote himself to private life. Where there is no genuine politics, there can be no concern about it. There is no other way but to yield to despair, praying for the ruin of those in power. Thinking that an individual is powerless, one follows simply a self-defensive instinct. So, as matters now stand, people try every means available to emigrate to foreign countries. When we were breathing a sigh after these talks, one professor who had been expelled from university said in a sharp tone:

"Struggling people is always in a minority. Nowadays it is only in emboldened churches that people can discuss with one another, and that in the encirclement of the police and the KCIA. Many, however, are craving for a right message in this world where no one talks the truth. I'm often moved by the heated atmosphere overflowing lecture halls. Seeing the angry eyes of young people, I gain immeasurable hope."

In order to prevent students from going to such a place the school authorities sometimes declare emergency call and at other times the heads of the students affairs sections examine students at the entrance. But, the lecture halls are always packed to capacity. At times lecturers are asked questions unanswerable under the Emergency Decrees. In such cases, they answer back: "I fully understand what you're going to ask me. You may also know very well how I'm going to answer." Then the questioners reply

"Yes" and sit down. My professor friend added in an agitated tone, "I think that's enough. On those occasions I feel my eyes growing moist." It may be said that such is the posture of people in this troubled world under Presidential Emergency Decree No. 9.

The south Korean Student Christian Federation which had become widely known through the case of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students in 1974, opened its series of lecture on human rights on March 30. This time professor An Byong Mu, who had been imprisoned on the charge of the case of March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation and granted a stay of execution, gave a lecture under the title, "The Problem of Human Rights as Reflected in the Bible." The auditorium of Christian Hall was packed to the corridor. The heads of the student affairs sections of universities examined students at the entrance and watched their movements. The riot police numbering 60 encircled the building. The sponsor made a protest against it, saying, "Is this not the very repression of human rights?" This forced the besiegers back to the parking place. They must have thought that they should not excite the young people. Prof. An did not mince his words. When one looks back upon history, he said, human rights have been incessantly trampled upon owing to the wilful exercise of rights by the rulers and to laws under the legalized dictatorship. Jesus fought against the dictatorial system which advocated the law-for-law principle. Then Prof. An called on the crowds to fight for human rights, following the path hewed by the crucifix of Jesus who preferred righteous defeat to dishonorable victory.

Declaration for Democratic National Salvation

It is the primary duty of all the people of various strata at present to fight for democracy, the nation's independence and national unification. To workers, peasants, salaried men, public officials, intelligencers, students, religious men, intellectuals, medium and small traders and entrepreneurs and all the other masses whose self-respect, freedom and right to existence as human beings are being trampled upon, we appeal to make clear your standpoint as a democratic people by displaying your utmost courage and initiative and confirming your passion for democracy immediately. We declare this document to be our promise to strive for the realization of a nationwide alliance. Long live democracy!

The above is the last passage of the Charter of Democratic National Salvation issued on March 22 when the Supreme Court decided to reject the appeal addressed to it by those related to the case of March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. As a result, the penalties of both Yun Bo Son and Kim Dae Jung are settled to five years' imprisonment with suspension of their civil rights for the corresponding period. And assemblyman Chong Il Hyong and lawyer Li Tae Yong were disqualified from an assemblyman and lawyer respectively. Also present in the court was an assemblyman from the Human Rights Committee of the New Democratic

Party. When the trial was over, hearers attacked him, saying: "You need not come here. Your party is an opposition party, but has it spoken a word about this case at the National Assembly?" He showed his heels in haste.

In the future, too, only the heroic struggle of the Christian churchmen and students will continue. Early in March, Prof. Li Mun Yong performed a fast for resistance. When his wife visited him, he reportedly gave her the following words as if to leave a will:

"I shall probably go out of this prison as a corpse. I wish my funeral ceremony will be held in the Galilean Church. I hope you will give attention to the education of children and, in particular, bring them up on your own account. You should not be indebted to relatives and friends."

The wife at once informed the Human Rights Committee of the National Council of Churches of this fact. And then she broke down, saying: "He may choose a beautiful death for the sake of justice. But I wonder what he is going to do with us." When a representative of the Human Rights Committee met the governor of the prison, the latter said that Prof. Li was not fasting. The Human Rights Committee protested against the authorities' usual falsehood and, on the following day, strongly urged him to break a fast.

On March 22 when an announcement was made of the dismissal of the appeal, all the families of those related to the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation issued a statement. Its first passage reads: "Today when immorality and injustice prevail, we lament deeply over this unreasonable reality in which truth and conscience are made the objects of punishment and suppression. And

we are much worried about the future of the country." It pointed out that struggle would continue until the wish of the hard-stricken people came true and "freedom secure from oppression" was gained. It concluded with the following passage: "We extend our thanks to the personages at home and abroad who have shown a deep concern for our movement for the restoration of civil rights and offered prayers and encouragement to it."

Around 2:50 p.m. on March 28, a campus demonstration was staged again in Seoul University. Some 500 copies of Declaration for Democratic National Salvation were distributed. About 300-400 students reportedly took part in the demonstration. Instantly a group of plain-clothed men and the professor in charge of the student affairs, appeared on the scene. A riot police corps, too, rushed in. They say it was the first time that the riot police intruded into the university campus without permission. Afraid of the anniversary of April 19 Student Revolution, they must have launched their annihilation operations. Around 3:20 p.m., the demonstration died down in face of violence.

Here is a pathetic story associated with the day's incident. Informed of the start of a demonstration, President Yun Chon Ju of Seoul University hurried to the spot. He took to his room a student of law department who appeared to be a prime mover. There he rained abuses upon the student and then handed him over to the police, I hear. A student who passed the news to me added with a melancholy look:

"After the law department's demonstration on December 8, last year, the president was given a serious warning by the Blue House. He was told that if there was another demonstration, he would be dismissed. That is why today he has acted even that

way to show his loyalty. Both the president and professors are 'policemen' and 'guards' of 'university prison.' Can a man become so cowardly under tyranny? I wonder...."

However, the students' resistance will continue. The day's demonstration, too, was staged in front of Hall No. 9, the same place where was read out on December 8, last year a declaration for national salvation "How can a man with a limited life try to rule over limitless history?" Two students were reportedly arrested and one made his escape. It is expected that there will not be cases of arresting an excessive number of students in demonstrations. It is also in order not to fall into the trap of the resisting side that intends to increase the number of the imprisoned. It is to frustrate a plan of the non-violent movement for filling prisons with conscientious offenders. Though there may be reasons of external relations, it is rather aimed at preventing struggles in prison from being intensified. Even the KCIA says, "If there are more prisoners, you will be pleased with it." They say there were cases in which a student who enumerated the names of participants during examination was called down by the examining officer: "That's enough. You should say you alone did it, shouldn't you?" But there may be apprehension that if things go that way, resistance will gain ground again.

These days, whenever cases happen, three persons are arrested for each of them. It seems there is a good reason for it. Three are the minimum requirement for the execution of a plan for a plot. For writing a statement, getting it to be mimeographed and distributing it, there must be at least three persons. These three-men groups are now often arrested. Such groups can be formed innumerable. If a prison-defying three-man group is formed it can attempt

any form of resistance by guerrilla tactics, I hear. Let me quote the first passage of the recent "Declaration for Democratic National Salvation."

Young fellow students who have resolutely risen up and given a right direction to the course of history with your voice of truth and justice whenever the nation is faced with danger while its history runs without letup!

The cry of Tonghak Rebellion in the remote past, the nationwide wave of the March 1st Movement and the pulse of the blood-tingling revolution of April are now giving solemn orders to us to denounce the nefarious and cruel reality and set it right. Isn't it the historical reality of today that the people's fundamental rights and the right to existence are threatened internally by the brutal tyranny of dictatorship in the guise of democracy and freedom and that the freedom and independence of the nation are misrepresented externally?

Denouncing numerous evils within campuses and society, the declaration points out, "A great number of our democratic fellow students are keeping dumb behind the bars, unable to come back to campuses." Furthermore, it demands the dissolution of the Student Defence League, the suspension of campus investigation, the guarantee of the people's fundamental rights and right to existence, the suspension of press gag, the release of the arrested democratic personages and school-mates, the practical improvement of the people's life without concoction of figures, the elimination of comprador forces, the removal of Emergency Decree No. 9, the enforcement of an independent diplomatic policy, and so on. My journalist friend who was reading the statement with me said:

"If the freedom of speech is permitted, the Pak regime will come to a close. Nay, everything which is closely associated with it may come to an end. Take trials for instance. Almost all trials, not to mention those of political offenders, are influenced by power and money. This reminds me of the degenerated days of Li Dynasty. What if the fact is laid bare by the press?"

Referring to the line containing the demand for the "practical improvement of the people's life without concoction of figures", he said:

"The government propagates that the national income has increased to 300 dollars or 500 dollars. But the people can not feel certain that. The more the propaganda, the greater the distrust on the part of the people. They ask: If it increased that much, then, into whose pockets did it go? The truth is that salary increased by 10 per cent whereas prices shot up 30 per cent. Life is becoming more and more wretched. The government says that it will fix the price rise at 10 per cent throughout the year. On the basis of this imaginable figure, salary is raised by 10 per cent. And while keeping down the prices at 10 per cent rise, the prices of raw materials shoot up 30 per cent. The outcome is the overflow of illicit commodities. Notably, adulterated foodstuffs dangerously injure the people's health, despite the fact that recently, many such cases of fraudulence have been reportedly disclosed. It raises a big problem, along with Seoul, the world-biggest pollution-making city."

The recent Declaration for Democratic National Salvation of Seoul University, too, denounces the fact that the people's life is deteriorating due to the "industrialization that has nothing to do with domestic

industry." What on earth is the purpose of the industrialization which is not for the people but for capital? The people were much excited over the rumoured smuggling of even Italy-made furniture adorned with the imitation of Michelangelo's sculpture. Furniture worth 230 million *won* is said to have been shipped in in conspiracy with a Japanese trader.

There occurred another scandal involving the Authorized Textbook Company which monopolizes the publication and sale of the textbooks for middle and high schools. Every day newspapers are playing up its tax evasion amounting to 10,000 million *won* and the bribing of all the editorial staff of the Ministry of Education. Scandals which shock the people are required to occur in succession lest they should calm down their minds. If it is known that the textbook company has made undue profits, it will exasperate almost all the people, the sufferers. But it is hardly possible that the government authorities and the KCIA have not laid their hands so far on the company which has made such huge profits. They might have divided the profits among themselves, but now there may have arisen circumstances in which they should plunge a political scalpel into the case. Whenever they meddled in plutocrats or big companies in the past, they must always be motivated by the interests and necessity of the political power.

Electric shortage has become acute.

The use of all neon signs is forbidden from April. Even the candle-power for the lights of office rooms was defined. Evening business is banned according to trades. Electric shortage is now so acute that factories have to suspend operations in the so-called peak time from 6 to 8 p.m. The generating capacity fails to meet the demand. According to an information supplied from the internal sources, somehow it is due to the defective electric facilities in many cases.

It appears that there are also faithless enterprises.

Again, on April 1, leaflets titled "To the Fellow Students of Seoul University!" were put in bundles here and there around the university's engineering department. It seems that only sporadic resistance such as this continues due to the oppressing power which tries to prevent possible uprising on April 19. It is not yet known who was arrested on account of the leaflets. They were issued in the name of "A Voice from Those Who Thoroughly Believe That Freedom and Democracy Are the Prime Essential for Security." Let me quote their last lines before winding up today's letter.

Spring has come without fail, again, and so has done blood-stained April when fields and mountains are splashed with youthful pink of azaleas.

O, the time has come when we should wipe off the disgrace to freedom and justice, which has blotted the history of this nation, and put an end to submission to poverty and humiliation. Don't you hear the cry for freedom and truth resounding in the dark air?

Spring is here with its azaleas blooming all over. But when will spring come to those still in ice-cold prisons? I wonder.

April 3, 1977

Vengeance on Conscientious Criminals

One professor who had taught philosophy at Koryo University committed suicide. He was forced to lec-

ture on the subject called "National Ethics" which was written in praise of the Revitalization system. But it was unbearable for him to continue to give lectures on what he could hardly place credit in, while making himself a laughing-stock of students. He entreated the university authorities to excuse him from it. The only reply, however, was that he should resign if he didn't want to do it. Back at home, he unburdened his painful mind to his wife. His weak and touchy wife fell into a swoon then and there. She was sent to hospital, but passed away. Having made sure of his wife's death, he committed suicide by throwing himself out of the window of the hospital building.

The dictatorship of the Pak regime produces human tragedies in all spheres. One businessman who frequents abroad said that from the moment his airliner took off from the Kimpo airport, he somehow felt at ease and came to collect his thoughts. In the atmosphere of unrest which can be called a mental smog our thought may be liable to be exhausted. He said smiling, "The man in power may say that one need not display normal mental activity but should only act in accordance to his order. He can't have it". The authorities' logic is that so far as the US abandons south Korea it doesn't matter how they treat this people. This can be called a gangster's logic. Until its doom's day, the Pak regime will further develop such a tendency.

They have the impudence to clamour that if only 30 persons engaged in a democratization movement are killed, peace will come back to south Korea. The life of the professors expelled from university is in dire destitution. They are so hard up that they have to put even their houses on sale. It is said that the upper crust of the KCIA advocates a big-stick policy but its rank and file think such a policy will cause

a yet greater crisis. However, there is also a view that the more complicated a problem becomes, the tougher that policy will grow, and this may rather accelerate the collapse of power.

Young people are becoming unconcerned about politics. But, on the other hand, there is an increasing number of youths who are resolved to fight at the risk of their lives. A Christian student who had once been taken to the KCIA said, "For the first time in my life, I told a lie. I flinched somewhat, but I'm proud of it." Braving a danger, they are now soliciting the public to sign the Charter of Democratic National Salvation. On March 23 the wife of Kim Dae Jung was interrogated on account of the charter. A demonstration movement was to take place in the Sudo Women's College on April 6, but was quashed beforehand. On April 7 an intramural demonstration was staged in the Hanguk Theological Seminary. In the Methodist Theological Seminary, too, there was a protest meeting where the Charter of Democratic National Salvation was adopted.

Yonse University, too, planned a demonstration on April 4 but it turned out a failure. Similar plans were frustrated in Seoul University, Rihwa Women's University, Catholic Sogang University and Konguk College. In Sukmyong Women's University, there was a campaign for attending school simultaneously in white blouse and black skirt in response to the call of the intramural broadcasting. Many students are said to have joined it. It was reportedly to mourn for dead democracy and call for Pak Jung Hi's resignation.

A thief broke into Ham Sok Hon's house on April 10, the Easter eve. The thief apparently had an eye on papers, for it was generally known that there was nothing worth stealing. Thus, all his papers were censored that evening.

Political offenders are being tried without letup throughout the country. Trials of the case of the Second Declaration for Democratic National Salvation made in Kwangju and the case of the demonstration staged by the Law Department of Seoul University on December 8, last year are going on in the Yongdungpo court, Seoul. In any court, the so-called defendants are denouncing the dictatorship without losing courage, and overcoming the terror of imprisonment and torture. Even the policemen on duty for watching gatherings and individuals, too, seem to show signs of weariness. In case of an individual, they should keep an eye on his movements from 4 a.m., the time for removal of midnight curfew, to 12 o'clock at night when the curfew is imposed. There is no knowing when he will slip out and what he will commit. One friend explained as follows, saying with a smile on his face that he had become familiar with them:

"They complain that they sleep only four hours a day. If they fail to make a detailed report on what they have done at what place, they are likely to be ousted. It is said that the KCIA men often come by car to know if the watch on those under house arrest is thoroughgoing. They may have complex of different sorts. At times, with a sad look they ask me to find them suitable places. I think it is only the political power, and not they, that is hated. It is because they have no other way but to keep the pot boiling. Occasionally I find myself awkward because they look up to me with so respectful eyes."

There are often the cases in which I, too, am moved in spite of myself when I meet those friends in struggle. They may have immeasurable sorrow and pains, yet they still have enough spiritual reserve and joys. This may be ascribed to the growth of man

in the midst of struggle. Writer Li Ho Chol wrote an article titled "With a Composed Mind" for a pamphlet published on the occasion of the third year of the struggle waged by the struggle committee of the expelled reporters from *Choson Ilbo*. Its last lines run:

"At times you may become nervous and your mind unsound before you are aware. But, the more so, the more composed mind you must have, subduing yourselves and waiting patiently with a composed mind."

A composed mind they have in the midst of struggle may stem from such self-reflection and self-training. And it may be the outcome of their thought and the self-control exercised by them who hate only the power which prevents the masses from leading a life worthy of human beings, believing that the people think the same way with them even though they are estranged from them for their weakness. Powerless as they are, what will become of them apart from the masses? Haven't they boldly chosen the present sufferings because they love the masses?

They hardly have anything like resentment against those who keep themselves from the struggle. "It is probably because they still remain in university," they say. "However, they are with us in spirit." I bow to this extraordinary leniency with admiration. When I parted with them and was on my way home, I felt my heart swelling at the thought that this, though presently unsuccessful politically, was a great fruit and would finally bring a political triumph without fail.

The government's measure to counter Christianity is perplexing. As the South Korean National Council of Churches persists in its critical attitude, the government has got, as a countermeasure, 19 denominations to form a federation with their representa-

tives.

The government seems to try to make the congregation of the representatives of 19 denominations a federation representing the south Korean churches. But in our country an organization under the influence of moneyed power is always short-lived. A church leader was optimistic when he said that the masses still retained as much wisdom as to judge of such a person. A monthly review published by a church body carried an "April 19 special edition." It was something none of the present mass media in south Korea could venture. Now this review puts out blank ads because of the gag on advertisements and is put even under overall tax inspection. As is the case with *Tonga Ilbo*, the young men made an attempt for a blank-ad-column campaign, but were hauled off to the police.

The gathering of church youths held around Easter, too, scathingly criticized the decision on the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation and cried for the restoration of democracy. It demanded the release of the "persons who were imprisoned because they cried for justice and truth by virtue of the love of Christ" and made a pledge to continue to struggle as a religious community. If a leader is walked off at such a gathering, then all the attendants stage a sit-down. On the afternoon of April 9, there was a similar gathering of youths at the Sosomun Church, Seoul. Among the attendants were many middle and high school students. A man concerned whispered in my ear that recently leaflets were being distributed in high schools, too. Thus resistance is surging under the "peaceful" surface of Seoul, south Korea. That is why the mighty power feels so much uneasy. I'm sorry I cannot afford to inform you of many reports which are in my possession.

On March 28 the Catholic side reportedly held a special mass in Myongdong Cathedral and issued the "Appeal of St. Mary." But its details are unknown because it is kept dark. The expelled *Tonga Ilbo* and *Choson Ilbo* reporters are up and doing. On March 17, the second anniversary of their expulsion, they gathered at Taehwagwan, a Chinese restaurant, where they shouted "Long live the freedom of speech and democracy!" and pledged themselves to fight to the last. Such a meeting was never held without the participation of those engaged in the democratization movement and of all the families of those related to the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. The police encircled the building, enquired the names of attendants and even took pictures. But at those meetings there is always a chorus of a psalm which runs: "There is a time when any nation or anyone will reach a definite decision. When truth and falsehood are in contention, which side will we have to stand for?"

The demonstration staged by the Hanguk Theological Seminary with many of its professors imprisoned was replete with the resolution of the student body. Ironically enough, its "Declaration of Distress" bears the imposing seal of the Student Defence League of the Hanguk Theological Seminary. Five students were reportedly walked off and to be prosecuted. The seminary is now closed. The first point of its demand says that the present regime should resign taking the responsibility for all this state of affairs. Expression of this sort does not run counter to the Emergency Decrees. So, it is said that they will be prosecuted for violation of the Anti-Communist Law.

Resistance continues in Seoul University, too. The "Seoul University's Engineering College students' emergency general meeting for national salvation"

held on April 11 issued in its name an "Emergency Declaration of Resolution for National Salvation." "Our Resolve" put in it runs:

1. We are convinced that our action represents the vital demand of the fellow-students all over the country and the entire south Korean people.
2. Our action is not manipulated by any organizations or parties whatever their doctrine may be and rejects such possibilities in future, too.
3. We swear that our action will never go in for compromise and will be continued to the last man and to the last moment.

"April Declaration" was announced on April 12 in the name of "the emergency general meeting of Seoul University students." Appended to it was "The Charter of Democratic National Salvation," which was undersigned as a supporter by the "Seoul University Association for the Promotion of the Formation of the National Federation for Democracy." The Pak regime will become more violent, but the beacon of resistance will never be extinguished. Today I have mountains of materials to report. But as I have already written a lot and this letter is delayed, I would like to conclude with the recent tragic news of those in prison on the charge of involvement in the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation.

Families of the imprisoned persons of various strata were brought together to organize a "Gathering of Conscientious Offenders and their families." On March 22, when an appeal lodged against the decision passed on the March First Declaration case was dismissed, they issued the "Declaration of Gathering of Conscientious Offenders and Their Families"

which was drawn up on March 17 and kept until then. In it they declared that they would not cease their struggle "until they extricate themselves from all discouraging sorrows, grievances and pains prevailing in this era and burn up all the oppressive black tentacles which suppress human conscience. And, along with this declaration, they published the "Outline of Actual Conditions of Conscientious Offenders in South Korea" in which they declared that they would not hesitate to lay bare in future all the brutal vices that trample upon human rights.

On March 26, eight persons related to the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation, with the exception of Kim Dae Jung, were all transferred to local prisons separately. This is a sort of banishment in prison, I should say.

Their transfer to such spots far away from the place connected with them is aimed at giving them hell. This has added new suffering to their families who have hitherto been tormented with house confinement. Interview with the convicts is classified into several categories. There are once-a-week and twice-a-month categories. But the worst case is once a month, plus an opportunity of sending a letter to their families per month. It is a matter of course that only the worst condition is applied to those associated with the March First Declaration case.

On April 6 and 12, those families formed a group and met conscientious prisoners in this region. Of the informations I have got about it, I must report a few.

Prof. Li Mun Yong is exiled to Suncheon, a place where you can reach after a seven hours' run by a high-speed bus. It is not permitted to send in more than 3,000 *won* to him. Sending in eggs, milk, fruit and the like is prohibited. His hair was already closely cropped and his winter clothes were taken away.

In summer clothes he was trembling with cold. He didn't know where his colleagues were sent. The most cruel thing is that he is confined to a room of 0.75 *pyong*, to be exact, a dark, stature-long room without a window. It looks like a grave. It is so narrow that only an uncoffined corpse can be put. This room is usually used for punishing criminals. But Prof. Li Mun Yong is always confined to it. His wife said that though Jesus lived only one day in the grave, her husband was forced to live there for weeks or for months on end. Her husband said that he felt like going mad. Even labour is not permitted. Only less than 10 minutes' physical exercise is allowed a day. She makes a protest against it, saying that it is a most brutal method of punishment which makes one go blind or mad and die.

Military rule is applied in prison. It is not permitted to see a prisoner over 10 minutes. Three guards were placed to Prof. Li and one to his wife. Separated by a double window, they scarcely caught their words. Why is such a cold-blooded atrocity being committed, I wonder? The man at the highest post must have ordered it out of his hatred against the struggle they have waged so far. Even in prison, they gave support to Kim Dae Jung. It is said they have exerted an enormous spiritual and religious influence on him. Vengeance upon this might be manifested in that shape. Exiled to Chonju, Rev. Mun Ik Hwan, too, was confined to a 0.75 *pyong* room. Though it had a window, it was so cold and his frost-bitten hands were left untreated. He said that he maintained his health through yoga and that he had barely managed to get used to it. He added that he would endure difficulties talking of the ordeal of Jesus.

Rev. Yun Ban Ung was in the worst condition. He is also locked in a similar 0.75-*pyong* room. He is

so closely watched that he cannot even lay himself down. Even a doze invites the guard's shout: "Straighten yourself!" This Taejon Prison is the worst one for political offenders on communist lines. The guards here are notorious for their cold-bloodedness. With all his underwear taken away, he was shivering with cold. This old pastor reportedly said to his wife: "It seems to me that leaving prison alive is impossible. I beg you don't take me for your husband, thinking I was dead."

When families went to the prison at the end of March, they were repelled, on the reason that they had met him in March before the decision of the Supreme Court and their revisit infringed the-once-a-month-visit rule. On their way to prison their cars were to halt time and again to be searched. At the destination they were encircled by scores of army-men. It is hoped that local churches will take any step. As for the Catholic Church, Cardinal Kim reportedly sent his message to churches recommending that they should pray for both Catholic and Protestant churchmen and do everything necessary for them.

Kim Dae Jung is so unwell that he cannot have a sufficient sleep. His wife is reportedly going to appeal that if he is not allowed to seek the advice of a medical specialist, he should be put to death. When his family protested to the Ministry of Justice against the worst condition he is in, the reply stroke a wrong note—"No cell of the prisons in south Korea is without a window." This will probably give rise to another trying struggle of the families.

April 15, 1977

DAYS PASS AMID RUMOURS

Fasting

The balmy May weather is continuing. To be sure, in south Korea the two differing chronicles run their courses. One is the chronicle of words printed in newspapers. The other is the chronicle of rumours which cannot be printed in newspapers, a history of rumours, so to speak. In the chronicle of rumours one deserves of imprisonment if he hears something and utters it to others.

The printed chronicle advertises extensively: "All weapons except fighting planes are homemade." "Export of some weapons pushed forward." This means overpowering the north in the massproduction of weapons too. Production of weapons has hitherto been kept secret. But this secret is broken in connection with the problem of the withdrawal of the US troops. Of this, an unprinted rumour explains:

"Munitions industries of Japan and the United States are concentrated in Changwon. Compelled by their home circumstances, these two countries are going to export their weapons from here to different parts of the world. Cooperation given at the time of the Vietnam war has taken this form now. The Pak regime believes this wins it the backing of the Japanese and US weaponmongers."

Meanwhile, these days the printed chronicle is

splashing a "south Korea-Japan continental shelf agreement," devoting almost all of its spaces to its accounts for successive days. Japan is playing a "ratification trick" over this agreement. Besides, she is likely to extend her interchange with the north. Since the conclusion of the south Korea-Japan treaty in 1965, Japan has earned 7,700 million dollars in her trade with south Korea. Notwithstanding this, newspapers write, she is "despising" and "going back on" south Korea time and again. This sort of report too invites severe criticisms from the rumours, which declare:

"The Pak regime is much impatient for the settlement of the problem of the continental shelf. After awakening people's hopes with its word about the discovery of an oil jet, it is going to give another show in its efforts to overcome the political crisis. Its plan is to cast a vast sum of money into the sea and use it properly together with Japan. Much noise about the continental shelf, which is raised almost every day by newspapers, suggests its intention to launch an anti-Japanese movement once again in case a political crisis comes."

A reporter friend said that the present rulers have been so degenerated morally. They are rascals every inch, so there is no knowing what they may do and what sort of men are hanging on around them. According to him, most of both the additional defence tax, which holds 20 per cent of the tax amount and is collected unconditionally, and the contribution called the defence donation which is made to defend the political power in actuality, are used as the funds for the operations of the KCIA. These finances are all closed to the public on the plea that they are related with national defence. Then,

my friend cracked a joke, as if to pacify his own temper which is turning irritable.

"This happened at Yonse University. A certain student scattered leaflets as he went. The alarmed KCIA operatives resident in the campus rushed to the scene. They picked up a leaflet, but found it blank. They too were in blank amazement. It was a sort of humour and bugbear. Well, a blank sheet of paper is enough to communicate each other's mind these days."

Kim Dae Jung gave up food for six days from May 7. Before telling the story of this case, let me convey a message he wrote to his friends at home and abroad at the time.

1. Aware of the concern of colleagues and personages at home and abroad for my fasting and health and unable to go against their feelings, I "break my fast for the present." Despite my six-day fast, I have been able to keep my health. This owes to God and your warm concern, I believe. Many thanks to you.

2. But I will closely observe what measure the government will take to rectify the violations of human rights. If there is no rectification, I will fight anytime anywhere to uphold human rights. I wish you too will go into action. Let's once again bear in mind the truth that conscience devoid of action comes to side with the vice after all.

3. Originally, human rights are offered by God. So, they are not the rights that can be transferred to others if need arises. They are inviolable. And it is man's bounden duty to strengthen and extend his rights.

I hope the government will veer off to democracy. Then, I will spare no "dialogue" and no "cooperation"

for the good of the country. Again I give my thanks to you and wish you good health.

Kim Dae Jung had water and fruit on May 7 when he started fasting. But he touched nothing from the 9th. His wife hurried to Chinju located on the southern tip of south Korea. She asked the governor of the prison to let her see her husband and tell him to break his fast, but she was refused. So, she, together with her family, flopped down on the ground in front of the gate of the prison and went on a fasting, protesting: "You, the governor, are waiting for the death of Kim Dae Jung." Five lawyers joined them. Some 60 persons ran to the spot from all directions before no one knew and participated in the fasting. They were wives of other prisoners implicated in the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation, and their friends who had got wind of the news and come from Seoul and localities.

For fear that the number of hunger strikers might swell, the whole area around Chinju was placed under an extraordinary alert order and every pedestrian was examined. Cardinal Kim Su Hwan sent the following short letter to Kim Dae Jung:

Brother, your body does not belong to you only. It belongs to our people. Maintaining your health means meeting the expectations of the people of this country. Please quit fasting.

It appears the KCIA could not but convey this letter. And Kim's wife was allowed to see him. She appealed to him: "Please stop fasting, considering many of your friends fasting together with you rather than yourself." Kim Dae Jung accepted this appeal at last, out of his desire not to put his friends

to trouble. His wife, I'm told, is planning to move to Chinju in apprehension for a possible emergency. That evening Kim's family and lawyers put up in a hotel. The rooms next to theirs on either side were occupied by policemen. At midnight, all awoke by a shout, "A fire! A fire!" A fire broke out in a room taken by the police, but no one could tell its origin.

The talk of Kim Dae Jung's fasting is, of course, the first-rate rumour. The plight of the prisoners implicated in the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation is far from reassuring. Father Mun Jong Hyon, now in the prison in southernmost Kimhae, is suffering from osteomyelitis and neuralgia. The wound he received while protesting against the execution of the eight People's Revolutionary Party "members" is being aggravated. It is said that his quilt moistened in the damp cell is further impairing his health. His younger sister, a nun, who had visited him is said to have shed copious tears, telling of her brother's wretched plight.

Rev. Mun Dong Hwan has been transferred from Mokpo, a port city at the southwestern extremity, to Chongju in the central area. This step was taken in fear of citizens' sympathy for him since Mokpo is the native place of Kim Dae Jung and is under the powerful influence of Christianity. Rev. Mun too is suffering from hypertension and neuralgia. He is not allowed to do any labour. Only ten minutes' daily physical exercise is permitted. He had long been forbidden to read. But these days, he can read three volumes a week, I hear.

Also stirring is a story told by Prof. Li Mun Yong's wife after she met her imprisoned husband in Sunchon, another southernmost city. She was tired from a long solitary journey. But she was amazed, upon arriving her destination. Some 20 local people came and encouraged her, acting with her. Everywhere

there were some people who hadn't given in to violence.

Ham Sok Hon was also taken to the KCIA on a charge of signing the Charter for Democratic National Salvation. It is said that he declined the offer of a chair and sat down on the floor instead. He explained it was because he was a criminal to the people, not to the investigation officer. Perhaps, one may become more and more religious like this in the midst of tribulations.

A Spring Diary

I'm in poor health these days. So, today I would like to give a brief report about what happened around me. Excuse me.

The March-April season of students' resistance seems to have passed. Maybe the Pak regime is breathing easy now, because it will enjoy a leisure till autumn since students will drop their resistance in summer. The Pak regime seems to prolong its existence in this way, tiding over one difficulty after another. Dissidents' hope laid on President Carter and their joy over the Opposition's victory in the general elections in India are cooling gradually. They feel very tired but their will is unbreakable as ever.

At 3:00 p.m., April 24, 150 young Christians in the Seoul district staged a demonstration in Myongdong, ignoring a pouring rain. They marched to Myongdong Cathedral, shouting: "Long live peace, freedom and democracy!" They clashed with the riot police, and two youths collapsed senseless to the ground. Many were arrested and thrown behind bars, and now the head of the youth association is the

only one to be left outside.

Arrest, jailing and terrorism are going on against the organizers of the signature campaign for the Democratic National Salvation Charter and against its signers. The son of the late Chang Jun Ha who had reportedly died from fall during mountain-climbing was attacked one night by a mysterious rascal. He bore no scar outwardly. But his cheekbone and jawbone broke and his skull cracked. The wound is so serious he requires 4-month hospital treatment and more than one-year convalescence. His family has broken up, and Chang's widow is eking out a bare living, decorating slippers with flower-patterns, which brings her 3 *won* per pair and several hundred *won* a day.

In connection with such terrorist outrages, the Headquarters of the Signature-seeking Campaign for the Democratic National Salvation Charter issued its April 26 statement, "Stop torture and terrorism!" It pointed out this fact:

"Of late it has been revealed that at least more than five students of Rihwa Women's University, out of those apprehended by the police on a charge of planning a demonstration, underwent the notorious 'water torture.' This is widely-known and only one of many instances of cruel handling, beating and torture of detained students."

Declaring that these facts glaringly proved the Pak regime to be a "pack of naked gangsters," the statement closed with the following words:

"If things go on like this, all of us people will offer resolute resistance, mobilizing every possible way, means and force. If the Pak regime doesn't want to go to ruin in face of the uncontrollable, explosive

wrath of the people, it must drop all of its foolish repression as early as possible and humbly lend its ear to the demand of the people! Quit torture and terrorism for good! Release all the arrested and detained youths and democrats at once!"

This statement may be the most passionate one among those issued lately. There is a good reason behind it. Thirteen students of Rihwa Women's University had been walked off by the police. Each girl was forced to lie flat face up. One man got on her body and held her down, while another man poured water into her mouth. Five girls are said to have been raped. But this rumour, I think, should not be spread for their sake. Two girls were convicted and their prisoner numbers are 5209 and 5235. Such barbarous acts committed against these girl students are intended to instil terror into other girl students by inflicting a fatal wound on their womanhood, and thus checking their resistance in advance. There is, however, a brilliant tradition of women's resistance in south Korea. Their resistance often sparked a general movement.

After passing April, the month of resistance, many young people are now in such distress. Even according to the data obtained by the church side alone, at least 40 students and several pastors have been arrested again recently. Those discharged from prison say a countless number of unknown, nameless people are in jail.

In order to manhandle the so-called political prisoners charged with the violation of the Emergency Decrees, the KCIA has recently sent down some of its men as prison officials and guards. So, it is said, conditions inside prison have become incomparably worse than one year ago. Watch is closer, penal regulations stricter, and block walls are thrown up

inside the buildings to cut off contacts. Labour is not allowed to prisoners. They do the day's ten-minute exercise separately, each under the watch of a guard. Sometimes they are put into the wicked convicts' ward to suffer brutal treatment which is beyond description.

While behaving devilishly to the unknown people just like this, the ruling power does not touch prominent personages, pretending that it has become moderate. So, many people fear that if the US troops withdraw, information will not reach foreign press media and there will be a horrible dark society.

Campus inspection has become even more rigid since April. KCIA agents staying there are ever on the alert, keeping a keen eye on every student who is suspected of causing some trouble. And, if need arises, they send him to the police or the KCIA. They openly attend every meeting. If anything happens, they extend investigation with the telephotos they have taken. The police, the KCIA, and the campus office in charge of students' affairs form one unit. Numerous operatives have found their way into Rihwa Women's University. Some female informants and detectives are working among the girl students. The campus is in the grip of terror.

Even under such situation, a demonstration broke out on May 12 at Yonse University. As it was the "campus day" the students were working collectively. All of a sudden, they gave a yell, demanding the abolishment of the Revitalization system and the repeal of the Emergency Decrees. This caused the apprehension of five students. At Koryo University too, five students were arrested in late April.

They are fighting on, defying such sacrifice, for they cannot, nay, should not resign themselves to their present lot. The Christian side is now in an awkward position, because it needs more than 5 mil-

lion *won* even to plead for the imprisoned students and pastors who have been identified. If a lawyer defends political offenders, pressure is brought to bear on him, and he is unable to argue other cases. The families of those implicated in the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation are also in needy circumstances. The churches' support organization, too, is tired out from relieving the victims who are growing in number throughout the country. The hands of relief at home have been almost cut off due to suppression.

More and more ordinary people are being imprisoned for trifling matters. One would start venting one's spleen over a bottle of wine and touch on a political affair before one knows. South Koreans have long followed this practice as an expedient for their mental catharsis. I'm told that many are walked off these days for calling "President Pak Jung Hi" "Mr. Pak Jung Hi."

The number of local pastors arrested for their tongue slips has sharply increased of late. One pastor was given a 5-year prison sentence (a 15-year imprisonment demanded) and is now serving his time. His critical sermon incriminated him. No sooner had he been subjected to examination than he was put to electric torture. Thus he was accused of preparing a plot to overthrow the government. He was a man of strong constitution, but now he is said to be suffering from heart and kidney troubles plus high blood-pressure in a prison cell.

A young conservative pastor at the end of a Sunday service said: "Our country is now in great danger. Well, let's offer a prayer now." For this mere word he was apprehended and put to electric torture. He is an evangelist and kind-hearted pastor who eked out a living by attending to local meetings and shared his salary with a poor missionary.

On May 7 a strike broke out at the Namyong Nylon Company in demand of higher pay. On the company management's promise for better treatment, it was called off. But that promise proved false. So, there was a strike again on May 17. This time the company management in league with the authorities concerned bought over some male workers and made them attack the female ones. This turmoil only resulted in the arrest of 14 female workers. Conveying this news, a friend of mine offered this comment:

"Young people are all aware of this horrible news. But they still have some heroic sense of justice. Once I attended a meeting in a certain city. It was attended by some 400 young people, and probably there were many KCIA operatives among them. But never before had I experienced such a passionate atmosphere as at that time. The sound of a hymn shook the heaven and earth. When a preacher, imprisoned once, took the pulpit, a stormy applause broke out before he opened his words. At the end of the sermon the applause thundered forth again and lasted long as if calling for an encore. I felt like drawing a fresh strength from it."

An incident occurred again at the Hanguk Theological Seminary where the "Declaration of Distress" had been proclaimed on the Easter eve in April and thus five students indicted on the charge of violating the Anti-Communist Law. On the morning of May 11, they again demanded the abolition of the Revitalization Constitution, the release of democrats and the resignation of the Pak regime. Let me cite a passage of their statement.

"The present regime which has been bent on defending the bulwark of its own one-man dictator-

ship, heedless of the worldwide trend to democracy, must not deceive itself, the people and the whole world any more but strip off its mask and repent of its past. Otherwise, it will be given a stern judgement for the situation hereafter which will leave a blot in the history of south Korea. We urge it to cast off the fiction of its political myth at an early date and regain its true image so as to bring freedom and democracy to this land."

When a student started reading a copy of this statement hurriedly at the chapel, the rector wrested it. The second student continued reading with another copy, but a professor snatched it from him. The third student read it out and the students gave shouts of joy. Professors asked the students to keep that event dark and not to make it assume serious proportions. But somebody reported it and three students were arrested. A rumour has it that the professors played the students foul.

Five students implicated in the case of the "Declaration of Distress" were removed from the seminary upon orders from the Ministry of Education. An arrangement had been made to keep that case to the seminary, but it had already been reported to the Ministry of Education in the name of the rector. Informing me of this news, a young man said:

"There is a strong evidence that this time, too, a professor reported the affair. It so happened that while a student was examined, a professor reported it to the KCIA by phone. Some professors and pastors are fighting, but some others are acting as informants like this. How should we conduct ourselves in the future? This time the sons of Mr. Chang Jun Ha and Rev. Pak Hyong Gyu met with a disaster. Has time already come for the second generation to

fight?"

Kim Dae Jung's secretary is constantly called up to the KCIA or the police. The appeal of former Assemblywoman Kim Ok Son, who had been ousted from the National Assembly, was turned down in the second hearing on April 27 without interrogating on anything, even on her person. Thus, she was sentenced to one year in prison with a stay of execution for two years, as decided at the first hearing on the charge of the violation of the election law.

There is a good reason for such a lightning trial. A by-election may be conducted in the Chongro and Central Districts, Seoul, as Chong Il Hyong was removed from the National Assembly for his implication in the case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. Should Kim Ok Son, who was expelled from the National Assembly on account of her criticism of the Pak regime, run for this by-election to be held in the heart of Seoul in June or July, she would win great popularity. Pak Jung Hi is obliged to exercise every caution like this in order to hold on to power.

The South Korean National Council of Churches sent a message to President Carter in connection with the question of security and human rights in south Korea. A reply letter addressed by Holbrooke, Assistant Secretary of State, on orders of President Carter came a week or so ago. Being a formal one in general, the letter runs like this: "We will consider withdrawal of the US troops with a sense of responsibility for the security of south Korea;" "We have deep concern for the problem of human rights in south Korea;" "The relations between our two countries will become closer." Nevertheless, I am told, the Pak regime, probably because there is no precedent for such a thing, showed such a kindness

as to propose a dialogue to the Christian side. One church member, rather manifesting his displeasure at this, said to me:

“Word goes around that a bargain was made with the United States. A promise is said to have been given that the political prisoners will be released in June, that a national referendum will be held in October, and that if Pak Jung Hi wins the majority support of the people at the time it'll be all right, but if he fails, he will resign. If this is true, Pak will launch a desperate activity for it.”

This is another fantastic rumour, indeed. It may let Pak Jung Hi produce “new ethics” in thoughts for the sake of the surviving people. Probably believing the term “New Village Movement” has lost its colour now, he has recently launched a “New Spirit” Movement which advocates loyalty and filial duty. A “New Spirit” meeting was convened with the mobilization of the people all over south Korea. And Pak Jung Hi's young daughter gave these words of instruction on the occasion: The New Spirit Movement is characterized by its purpose to lay the foundation for establishing the mentality of true worth and unshaky moral sense in our society by reviving the spirit of loyalty and filial duty, which had been the basis of our nation's spirit, in conformity to the reality of today.

Do the people of this country really have such a latitude of mind as to humbly accept this instruction of a young woman? Evidently, Christian ethics contradicts with such a “congress-type” ethical movement. It is an isolated ethics in agony. An incident that occurred in Chonju, North Cholla Province, seems to indicate that the ethical movement launched by Pak Jung Hi and his daughter is not smooth

sailing.

Here is a story about a pastor in Kimje County near Chonju. Hard on 60, this pastor called Kang Hi Nam is such a person who rejects even the computerized resident registration. Ever since 1972, he has been regarding Pak Jung Hi not as President but as self-styled President. Whenever his friends say "President Pak," he would mind them not to give the "President" prefix.

As he openly said this sort of words, he was taken for a "mad man" and overlooked by the KCIA. But there was a big incident on May 5 last, the Children's Day.

That day, a meeting for reorganizing the North Cholla Provincial Chapter of the Democratic Unification Party was held in Chonju. Pastor Kang Hi Nam was invited there for a congratulatory speech. The speaker ahead of him did not fail to prefix President to Pak Jung Hi. Pastor Kang, expressing his disappointment over that party on which he had laid some hope before, questioned: "How on earth can we call that man President?" Then he itemized the reasons why he couldn't call Pak President. He said: Pak Jung Hi made many immoral marriages. He raised scandals because of his foul relations with women, deserting or killing them. The Blue House has been reduced to a house of prostitution. Pastor Kang lamented over the wretched plight of this country under the rule of such an immoral man, and insisted that Pak was exercising dictatorship in an effort to veil his criminal acts.

Pastor Kang was arrested without question, and both the chief of the police station and the head of the KCIA chapter in Chonju were given the air. Besides, many local government officials there fell a victim to that incident for their failure to stop Pastor Kang's speech.

More amazing was the attitude taken subsequently by the North Cholla Provincial Parish Council. It convened an urgent session on May 13 with an attendance of 150 representatives. The police, I am told, forbade the attendance of the representative of the church to which Pastor Kang belonged. But the meeting unanimously adopted a resolution to the effect that what Pastor Kang had said accorded with the Presbyterian faith and that he had played a prophet's role in conformity with the spirit of the declaration made by the Presbyterian Church concerning its responsibility to society. And it stressed that all pastors should learn from his posture and prove it at the risk of their faith and lives.

The meeting set up a special committee to cope with the situation. And it was decided to march up to the office of the KCIA chapter after the meeting in demand of an interview with Pastor Kang. When the riot police locked the church gate not to let the pastors out, the latter protested: With what right has the police locked the gate of the church without our permission? Finally, the police offered to bring buses for them. But they refused this offer and took taxicabs. At the KCIA chapter office they failed to obtain the interview. But there was quite an ado.

The KCIA must have been unable to control itself this time, although it had until that time tried to keep that case unmagnified. The church side is determined to fight on, holding prayer meetings. Hearing of this, the local people say in whispers: "Pak Jung Hi has chosen a wrong opponent." However powerful the sword may be, Christianity still remains a tough antagonist.

In this manner, the nameless pastors have been apprehended and are now undergoing sufferings. They say one pastor is even willing to die a martyr. Does a man become so noble when he keeps up a

lofty ideal and deep love? Why is the Pak regime going to bring the history of this country to this pass, while prating about unfolding the "New Spirit" Movement? Is there no way to put an end to this evil confrontation when the air of May is so pure and so fragrant?

May 15, 1977

SUPPLEMENT

The Japanese politico-theoretical magazine *Sekai* (May 1977 issue), under the title “Court Records of ‘March First Declaration Case’,” introduced the final court statements of the south Korean democratic people who were imprisoned for the case of the “March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation.”

Here is some of their English version.

COURT RECORDS OF “MARCH FIRST DECLARATION CASE”

—Final Statements of Eleven Defendants—

The Political Power Kills Conscientious Young People

YUN BO SON

First of all, I would like to make a request to you, the chief judge, in regard to a matter close at hand. I want you to replace the chairs at the dock and gallery with a little better ones. All present here including the home and foreign reporters look as if they were put to torture. Should we, members of this nation, receive subhuman treatment simply because we are the defendants? Besides, we are not yet given the verdict of “guilty,” are we? He that respects not cannot be respected. I have come to know that the court is the very place where the vestiges of Japanese colonialism remain most pronouncedly. This country must be an equalitarian state, and no one should be treated beneath a citizen. It would be advisable for you, the chief judge, to come down and try to sit here. Everyone speaks through a microphone except us, the so-called defendants. Why are the defendants not allowed to use a microphone when they have run down from prison life?

Does it mean that our voices must not reach the hearers while yours are heard? Is it for financial reason? (Laughter.) Shall we empty our purses to install one or two microphones here? (Laughter.) Does politics intervene even in such a matter?

I have already consecrated my life since the announcement of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. And now my resolve is as firm as ever. Frankly speaking, I have not taken a glance at the procurator's bill of complaint or his prosecution. For it is nothing more than a paper scrap void of even a minimum common sense in court. Not a shred of fact is to be found in it. They claim there is the freedom of speech in this country, though, in fact, even a mere child and the world know it is a lie. If there is an error in the Constitution of south Korea, why should the people not speak of it? I want you, the chief judge, to give a reply. It is utterly absurd. Are Americans or Japanese alone allowed to say about it?

At this court, I have come to learn that the contradictions of this country are concentrically manifested here. Though ten years' imprisonment is demanded for me, my heart is only ablaze with the resolve to rectify this shameful state of affairs at the earliest possible date, rather than fearing of it and reflecting on what I've done. Recently, I have received from the US civil liberties organization a letter of commendation encouraging me in my struggle. When this country has me behind bars, that country does honour to me. Either the US or south Korea must be wrong. I don't care whether I get a death sentence or 100 years' imprisonment. Even in this lawless world, I wanted to speak the truth just for the good of the country, hoping that the political power will listen to even a single word. This, however, is branded as a plot to overthrow the

state. This is as good as judging other's mind from his own. Is it what the prosecution thinks at ordinary times? We have never thought of such a thing, but it seems you have sought to force your own judgment upon us.

Of late the government is clamorous for elimination of irrationalities. But, is the government not at the bottom of irrationalities? It practises all manner of election frauds, and yet charges the Opposition with the election law violation. Are these irrational practices of this political power not a crime? Whom on earth does the government try to threaten with punishment for alleged irrationalities? The administration of justice is also horrible indeed. I think you, too, know well what a student stated during his trial at this court. Spending 30-40 days in a dark room, he had been familiarized with Pyongyang and Wonsan through screens. After this training, he was so well informed of the state of affairs in the north as if to have actually been there. When he was not willing to take the training, he was forced to drink medicine and have medicinal injection. And he did as he was bidden. But, didn't he shout to you, the chief judge, at length, at this court, asking you to have a look at his body? This is how the political power slaughters conscientious young people. Do the south Korean police, KCIA and court exist to forge good people into Communists? The government intends to implant communism phobia into the minds of people. To do so, it labels patriotic students and personages as Communists, making believe that there are so many Communists in this country. If one is critical of the government, he is branded as a Communist. Is south Korea a Communist-making factory? I'm old and may die even tomorrow. Though, what will be the future of this country? We also are now witnessing

the irregularities and corruption of this country in this court. No one trusts in this trial regardless of whether we are sentenced to death or 100-year imprisonment. You, too, feel painful, I believe. To get rid of this state of affairs we must wage a common struggle.

What Are Actual Facts in the South Korean Reality?

CHONG IL HYONG

The prosecution stated that for all that the countryside was making a dazzling progress thanks to the New Village Movement, our declaration distorted the fact. Several months ago I, together with government ministers, was invited to inspect a "model village." Explanation was given through a briefing chart as to how the living standard had improved thanks to the New Village Movement. It was a report full of rose-coloured dreams. Later I personally asked a villager if there were any villagers who sent their sons to colleges or high schools. The reply was "None." So I told him that his answer disagreed with what had been mentioned in the report a little while ago. My conversant retorted, "Aren't all reports something like that?" What are actual facts in the south Korean reality?

During Japanese imperialist rule a great number of patriots were tried at this court. The 33 leaders of the March 1st Independence Movement were also tried here. I was given a jail sentence at the end of Japanese imperialist rule on charges of having opposed the reformist order (Japanized Christianity). The sentences given at such trials, however, usually

did not exceed two or three years. Nonetheless, why should the ex-President and former presidential candidate, fathers and pastors have to suffer so harsh punishment at the hands of our nation in the liberated homeland? A strict guard is placed around the court as if the enemy were making an inroad. The political power will not be able to return to normal condition unless it casts off this hatred.

Will the Present Regime Really Intend to Go On with This Tyranny?

LI TAE YONG

We only feel deeply ashamed of our present circumstances, though we say we have been liberated. While the democratic development of our country is advocated even now, the democrats are taken in and tried at this court. What a lamentable thing this is! The political power has degraded this nation to this point.

The people, with whom the sovereignty rests, are entitled to point out the mistakes of their government. What's wrong with it? Don't facts tell that the country's situation has worsened for lack of that procedure? During the French Revolution women, too, made a declaration of their rights. They joined those who were brought to the scaffold. They died, shouting: "Is it the women's right to mount the scaffold but not to speak or live?" Today, after the lapse of 180 years since then, why should this country repeat the bygone history?

The prosecution says our statement is anti-national because it is against the will of the people. Mr. Kim Dae Jung demanded confirmation of the

people's will through a fair national referendum. But I think there is no need to do so. I have met people of all strata and walks of life for 300 days so far. All of them said to me: "What is all this?" "In what have you offended?" "The public knows it too well." "This government seems having its own way." "I'm so sorry for you. What great trouble you are in!" The government is now impatient to maintain power by oppressing these people.

The government of this country forces the people into silence. It claims that it is due to the confrontation between the north and south. If so, does it mean that until the north-south confrontation is removed and unification attained, we must be contented with the present life, the terrible infringement upon people's rights and the situation in which poor people are being unconditionally branded as Communists? Even from the geographical point of view, it seems this country will not be free from the national tragedy so long as the East-West confrontation exists. Will the present regime, then, really intend to go on with its tyranny as long as we suffer such misfortunes?

The persons in power assert that if this country has any resources, they are human beings. Yet they do not mind to know what is becoming of these human beings. I was once surprised to realize that a sharp dog like a shepherd lost his inherent quality when it was only fed, left idle. Much more is it the case with man, a spiritual being. Only when full play is given to his organs and functions can he have limitless possibilities. When a man is made to sneak about with his mouth shut, his eyes closed and his head hung, his organs and functions will atrophy and his judgement wane. He becomes less concerned about things and assumes the attitude of an onlooker. He loses his will and falls into a mood of resignation,

which in the long run becomes his predisposition. How terrible this is!

In his "Peace Message to the Leaders of the Whole World" dated December 10 last, the Pope wrote to this effect: "Where the entire citizens are silenced collectively, there can be nothing helpful to the maintenance of order and only a shameful form of suppression is rampant." Today the sentiments of the people of this country have become dull and their conscience has atrophied under suppression. Doesn't the government think it is a thousand times more important to bring these to normalcy than the so-called security it advocates?

I can understand the prosecution's position. But if the decision is rendered as you demands, what do you think will become of us? My husband is an assemblyman and I'm a lawyer. A mere suspended sentence will divest us of our present offices. This may be called an honoured discharge. Despite of this, you demand seven years' imprisonment for us. My husband is 70 years old and I'm 63. If we are imprisoned, it will be virtually a life sentence for us. The moment we are imprisoned, we will be separated eternally. The question lies in this brutality of the prosecution. Even under Japanese rule my husband was often jailed. And I helped him in his underground activities. The Japanese procurators, however, indicted my husband alone, leaving me and my children untouched. Yet you, the public procurators of the same blood in this independent country, make no scruple of meting out ten-year or seven-year sentence. Do you think of the ten years' time as a school term? You do so because you do not regard man as such. What a horrible thing this is!

I still pin my hopes on you, the judge. I am well aware of your dilemma. If you pass a fair judgement, you will undergo a great suffering. Or, if you

go against our expectation, you will be unable to escape the judgement of history. But, even so, you must not incriminate innocent people. Can't you show your sagacity for justice's sake? To do so, you will need a high courage, I believe.

I Have Opposed This Regime since Military Coup

HAM SOK HON

First of all, let me say a few words about this trial. In a word, it is extremely clumsy. It should have been put on a little higher level. It doesn't matter how the trial is staged, but I can't bear to give myself anxiety about the future of this country which is committed to such power. I have not so close connections with you, the procurators and judges present here, as to give you advice, but if you were my friends, I would like to advise you to tender your resignation. Aren't you ashamed of this mean trial? Don't you think you would do well to resign with a sense of responsibility even now, though you have failed to do so to this day? Why do you hesitate? Is it on account of your families or discharge allowance? Doesn't the nation go to ruin if one acts against his conscience merely for subsistence? You, the public procurators, say that without the nation there can be no conscience. But the very contrary is the case. The most conscientious of this country are being tried by the most unconscientious. Only those who would readily yield to money survive. This government cannot employ those who would not bow to money.

I have opposed this regime since the military coup in 1961. Because I thought there was nothing

good in the seizure of power by military men through a coup d'etat. When the coup was staged the newspapers reported that what should come came. The papers these days, though, look like a master who has been bitten by his pet puppy on the heel. The people, however, were against the coup. Having failed to win the people's support, this regime has carried out escalation from the establishment of the Revitalization Constitution to the adoption of emergency measures.

This regime has told too many a lie. At the time of the coup they promised they would return to military service when they fulfilled their mission. None of them kept his word, however. They also declared they would eradicate irregular and corrupt practices. But these cases have rather grown into astronomical figures. This regime is unintellectual from the start, because the soul of the power is of the Japanese Imperial Army origin. He spent his youth in that army and even now keeps the tradition of its stamina. And he has a hatred for the highly educated persons just as the Japanese Army's noncommissioned officers of peasant origin had. I wonder how many young people lost their lives in the army in the past because of its brutality. Even their names are not remembered. Unintellectual perversity will inevitably fall to ruin.

This regime, therefore, is without a philosophy. How can they win the people's support without their own theory and ideology? They have no personality, scholarship and ideology. What they had before were weapons only. Among the brains of the military coup, who else but one does still remain in power? They have neither generosity nor modesty. It seems miraculous that the power of this sort has lasted for 15 years.

The officials of this regime are always eager for

fame. This is to fawn upon their superior. They are so busy with such a matter they cannot afford to give heed to criticism of others. Subject to the whip of this power since it came into being, the people have not spent a single day with a peace of mind. Daunted, they keep drawing back. Those who have been taken into government service are all rogues without exception. They keep good men at an arm's length. They do not understand history and give no thought to the nation's past and future. All they do is making shift. They are only concerned as to how to fill their pockets and how to keep up their illegal forces.

Such being the case, it is only natural that they do not reflect on their faults. For fifteen years of their rule there has not been a single instance in which they have acknowledged their faults and examined themselves. For all that, things are going from bad to worse as the days go by. Though they have learned much from the Japanese Army, they have acquired absolutely nothing of the spirit of the Japanese soldiers who are said to bear the responsibility for their errors and commit even harakiri at times. They have learned everything but that from them.

South Korean Christianity is fighting the power at present. Somehow it has become a most powerful Christianity in Asia. As a Christian, though weak in faith, I think twice about claiming that the March 1st Independence Movement was unthinkable apart from Christianity. This I do not say in consideration of only the number of those who joined the movement or their organizations. The spirit and force of the movement were inconceivable apart from Christianity.

Today those Christians involved in it are labelled as Communists. The incident of the National Federa-

tion of Democratic Youth and Students in 1974 was an epochal one in which the Christian student organizations openly participated in their own names. The government clamoured that it was a communist revolution designed to set up a red worker-peasant government. How much money does it insist they received from the "Communist Party" for the so-called "revolution"? Why can't it make public the sum? A young fellow who had been in correspondence with me was walked off to the KCIA, put to torture and purged from his workplace. The charge, I hear, was that he had been associated with a Communist like this speaker Ham Sok Hon.

Student demonstrations have been staged since 1963. The Pak regime found their cause in the students' neglect of studies. It does not know history. This nation keeps silence under suppression for a long time, but, once it rises up, it will display a formidable force. To make sure that such a thing should not occur, we advised those at the helm of state affairs to examine themselves. But, in this country, this is equated with high treason against the nation.

Is the "Revitalization Constitution," Too, a Law?

SO NAM DONG

I would like to set forth my views of law briefly, though I am not a law specialist and feel diffidence in it. When I thought of what judgement would be passed, I could see three possibilities.

Firstly, as the public procurator indicted, I shall be given a decision on charge of having instigated a

mass uprising. But whoever do you think would want such a thing as the mass uprising and the subsequent critical political situation? If such judgement is passed, it would be an historic "misjudgement."

The second possibility is that a verdict might be returned on charge of distortion of facts. Prof. Chang Won Jong bore very unpleasant testimony as to this alleged distortion of facts with regard to economic affairs. He asserted that once 6,000-7,000 million dollars of foreign capital flowed into the country it would wholly become home capital. His was not a testimony but a magician's word; it only laid bare his ignorance and irresponsibility. He also quibbled that the workers and peasants were not plundered, while admitting that they have not been benefited from the economic growth. If he applied this logic in insisting that the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation distorted facts, it would also be an historic misjudgement.

If we want to avoid the above two possibilities, the third and last possibility might be that a decision would be passed on us on charge of slandering Emergency Decree No. 9 and agitating for the repeal of the Revitalization Constitution. We have never demanded the abrogation of the Revitalization Constitution. We only demanded its revision. We have never slandered the Emergency Decree. If we are accused of such crimes, however, I'll deem it an honour. This is not because I have done anything against my conscience and the law, but because one of the proverbs in the Old Testament sprang into my mind: "You had better open your mouth for those silent people and for all orphans' appeal. Open your mouth and judge fairly and meet the call of the poor and needy people." I believe that God has made me speak for the oppressed and rejected. Before I was purged from university, I couldn't open my

mouth, though I had to criticize the Emergency Decrees and Revitalization Constitution. I was lacking courage. If, however, I were unexpectedly considered to be a man of courage due to this trial, I would serve my sentence with honour.

I asked at the first hearing, too, if the Emergency Decrees had propriety as a law. I don't think they belong in the category of law. It is a violence of the strong against the weak. Nowadays the human rights are interpreted as involving also the right of resistance. Nonetheless, no right of resistance is allowed under the Emergency Decrees. Everything is absolutized. The law represented by you, the prosecution, may be the positive law. You, the judge, should take into consideration the natural law and the right of resistance from a different standpoint from it. For this very reason, I think, the court is sacred. But isn't it too terrible if this glorious spirit of the law is found nowhere. With this final statement our trial has come to an end. This final judgement must be called a judgement on you three judges. The proverb I quoted above is, in point of fact, meant for you, the judges.

“KCIA,” a Tool to Suppress the Human Rights

HAM SE UNG

I studied symbolism as a subject in theology, and here also I would like to tell a parable. One night a bat abruptly intruded into the hen coop. In a few days the intruder brought with him mouse, flea and other parasites. Every night the hen could not bring herself to sleep. She thought she could not live long under the bat's domination. So she entreat-

ed him to move to other place. The bat and his ilk regarded it as distortion of facts, circulation of a false rumour and violation of the emergency measure. Thus the hen was indicted and examined. (Here the statement was interrupted for a while. It was because the bat or *pakjui* in Korean was construed as meaning Pak Jung Hi figuratively.)

It is only a pity that I undergo a trial in society where human rights are trodden down. The KCIA is a tool for the suppression of human rights, but they are not aware that their own human rights are being suppressed in actuality. They are manipulated inhumanly by a handful of people who are affected with a delusion of persecution that the collapse of the power endangers their lives. Through the first and second hearings we keenly felt how meaningless the judgement of a case is under these circumstances.

I would like to speak a word about poet Kim Ji Ha. In 1964 there was the so-called People's Revolutionary Party case. Then the public procurators of the Public Security Bureau decided to drop the case on the ground that such a party did not exist. Hurried under pressure from the above on that account, they sent in their resignation. This case was called the public procurators' disobedience and was brought up even in the National Assembly. The case was investigated and made public by Rev. Ogle, Priest Sinnott and our Catholic Priests' Group (on the occasion of the invention of the so-called second People's Revolutionary Party case). Basing himself on the report presented by them, Kim Ji Ha just wrote for newspapers that the PRP case was a frame-up. The then public procurators declared their conscience did not allow to incriminate the innocent people. Now I yearn much after those public procurators.

In 1973 Prof. Choe Jong Gil of Seoul University died during the interrogation at the KCIA quarters. The cause is still unexplained. The truth of the similar case which occurred under Syngman Rhee rule was fully revealed after the downfall of his regime. As to the Prof. Choe's case, the cause of his death should be cleared up some day and the persons concerned be punished.

It Is a Pity That I Was Born a South Korean Woman

LI U JONG

At the first trial we were accused of having instigated the people and agitated a rebellion. We asserted that the accusation was contrary to facts. We contended that there was neither evidence nor given condition. Nevertheless, now at this second hearing the prosecution is repeating the same accusation. In the case of Kim Ji Ha, too, it doesn't cease accusing him as a Communist, though he claims to be a liberal to the bone. There were cases in which teachers were arrested and tortured in the underground cell for forty days. They were forced to own themselves as Communists. They were even told that they should admit it in the interrogation room and yet could negate it in court. How can one live without anxiety under such a government?

Under the government's authority, *kisaeng* tourism, prostitution tourism, is encouraged on the plea of the so-called foreign currency earnings. I feel infinite indignation at the idea of seeking after the prosperity of the fatherland by selling their own daughters' bodies. The December issue of *Time* carri-

ed an article of councillor Kim Sang Gun now in exile. It revealed that tens of thousands of dollars were spent to corrupt US congressmen. And our girl students studying there were forced to attend on them and pass night together with them. When they refused, they were even threatened with forced recall. Whomever can one trust in in this country? No one can send one's daughter abroad for studies with a sense of security. It is a pity that I was born a south Korean woman.

I was purged from the 20 years' teaching profession. The university where I taught was in a miserable state. There prevailed a horrible atmosphere of suspicion between the professors and the students. They felt uneasy, each suspecting that the other side informed the authorities against him. The creative initiative of students was suppressed. They were forced to act robot executing only orders. What will be the future of the robot-man who cannot creatively apply himself to the new situation?

I have been in the religious world all my life. I was fired from the office, but no one can influence this inner life of mine. The religious world is now trodden underfoot by the power. Splitting manoeuvres and inspection are perpetrated and young fellows coming to church for service are examined by seven KCIA agents ensconced in front of it. Such is the state of the religion which should display its purifying capacity in a corrupt society. I wonder where in the world does the power intend to lead this country.

Power Forces Us to Claim That the Sun Is the Moon

SIN HYON BONG

Aigo, aigo. (The chief judge asked what the matter was with him.) Democracy and civil rights are dead in this court. So I must offer condolence with wailing.

First of all, I must appeal against the infringement of human rights in so far as I am concerned. They are going to impose a heavy penalty upon me even with no presentation of evidence and adoption of witnesses. Because under this oppression all people were forced into silence, we religious men only felt an urge to speak out.

How can we, religious men, keep silence when man's dignity, basic rights, liberties and conscience are trodden underfoot so much under dictatorial intelligence government?

The Pak regime should have drawn a lesson from the event in South Vietnam. Nonetheless, it made a reverse use of it. Then, if people air their opinions, it clamps down on them, accusing them of splitting public opinion, impairing the unity of the nation and endangering security.

The written accusation says that a political plot has been laid under the cloak of religious rites. This betrays the ignorance of religion and is a challenge to it as well. Religion discourages the arrogant, weakens men of power and declares liberation for the poor and the oppressed. This is what we have asserted. When the law of reality is opposed to

that of conscience, we follow the latter, the law of God. The Revitalization Constitution runs counter to the law of nature and the conscience of men, so we cannot recognize it for the world. It is not law but violence. It is the law of one man, by one man and for one man. We, religious people, cannot recognize personality cult and idol worship. Our conscience does not allow us to recognize it. Can the Revitalization Constitution, the emergency measures and the like stand for the law of the democratic nation in the eyes of the law and the conscience?

...Er.... What a bad memory I have.... Thomas Aquinas writes in his *Summa Theologica* that it is not a rebellion for the nation to rise up against the unjust power demanding obedience alone. Catholicism recognizes the right of resistance against the dictatorial violence. The present regime maintains a despotic rule. How can we remain without talking about it?

The written accusation says that I have distorted facts in my lecture in the church, but it is the accusation itself that has distorted facts. At the first hearing I demanded a definition of standard of judgement for distortion of facts. It is not yet met. Everyone recognizes that the contents of my lecture accord with facts. Why, then, do you, the public procurators, alone deny it? The power forces us to claim that the sun is the moon. They urge us to swear black is white. Even here I positively oppose and reject it. This is a horrible world where falsehood is imposed upon people. Both the prosecutor's argument and the judge's decision seem to be the very texts written and handed over to them by the KCIA. Is the Judicature of this country a lady-in-waiting for the Administration and the table-tennis room in Namsan (meaning the torture room, that is, the KCIA)?

The written accusation arbitrarily quotes even part of my lecture at the prayer meeting held in Wonju on January 23, 1976. It is a political revenge to throw me into prison under the name of March First anniversary case, as the thief turns on the master with a club. The words quoted in the accusation are not those of mine at that time.

Then the KCIA tape-recorded my lecture and committed it to paper. They can produce them as an evidence. Why don't they do so? Judgement at the first hearing cannot be said to be fair, because it was unilaterally affected by the prosecutor's demand. It is entirely invalid. The second hearing is no better.

Evidences and witnesses are not produced till this moment of my final statement. How can this blind judgement be effective?

This trial is not to judge a criminal case but just to sit in judgement for those arrested from pure spite. People call us political offenders, but we should be called religious offenders. It is preposterous that limited dictatorial intelligence government passes judgement on unlimited truth of God. Some day God and history will pass judgement on this trial. We can say definitely that we are not guilty before God and history. So long as the law is based on conscience and justice, we are not guilty. We do not plead not guilty at this court. For God's justice has already declared us not guilty.

The written accusation is a frame-up. The accusation concerning Kim Ji Ha contradicts with facts. I have no intention to evade responsibility. I must speak out as I deem it the duty of a father to bring facts to light. It is obvious that Kim Ji Ha is not a Communist. The written accusation says that he is a Communist professing Catholicism. Does it mean that he is a believer in God and also a materialist

and that God exists and, at the same time, doesn't? It is as ridiculous as to assert that water freezes at the boiling point. Kim Ji Ha is a Catholic and poet who has tried to translate into practice a love for neighbours, following the example of Jesus's activities. The power has been able to frame up even the March First Anniversary case challenging attention at home and abroad, much more the Kim Ji Ha case. Having been thrown into prison, I was more deeply impressed with the truthfulness of Kim Ji Ha's "Declaration of Conscience." I wept for excitement and sorrow, reading Kim Ji Ha's "Declaration of Conscience" and his letter to the Priests' Corps for the Realization of Justice.

Kim Ji Ha's case, it may be said, is a case in which a crime is hated far more than a human being. As there was a rumour that he was writing a poem on the abduction of Kim Dae Jung, they arrested him first and searched his house and his wife's. No poem was found, however. Instead, they detected his prison memo, jailed him and forced asceticism on him on "hen-for-pheasant" principle. This is the so-called case of Kim Ji Ha's violation of the Anti-Communist Law. Prior to his trial, the KCIA issued 700,000-1,000,000 copies of the pamphlet entitled the "Actual Facts of the Case of Kim Ji Ha's Violation of Anti-Communist Law" to forge Kim Ji Ha into a Communist and distributed them. They were anxious to get through with his case by finishing the trial in two or three months. In the meantime there came Kim Ji Ha's "Declaration of Conscience." Driven into a corner by this, the power's side, in spite of the expiration of the period of prosecution, kept him in prison, bringing forward the case of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students for which he had got a life sentence. What a dreadful political reprisal!

The accusation also charges us of the disturbance of the order of constitutional government and alienation of the people from the government. Who do you mean has attempted to sow discord? Weren't the rulers the first to do so? They themselves separated the government and the people, alienated religion from the people and tried to sever the Protestants and the Catholics, and Kim Ji Ha and the Catholics. In Wonju the KCIA agents said to Bishop Chi Hak Sun and me time and again: "Don't concern yourselves in the affair of Kim Ji Ha. We will comply with all your requests then." What is it if not the KCIA's manoeuvres to divide the nation?

Can't the rulers train such a personality as Kim Ji Ha? He is reportedly recommended for the Nobel Prize abroad. The government is campaigning against it and also rejects awarding the Rotus Prize to him. Why is it so narrowminded? Having framed up the March First Anniversary case, they are retaliating on us, even bringing up what did not come into question in the past.

When we fathers got together, we exchanged these words: "Sorry to remain outside when many people are frequently thrown into prison." And, prepared for imprisonment, we acted boldly according to God's truth, the Christian tenets and Bishop Chi Hak Sun's "Declaration of Conscience."

The dictatorial, intelligence-based political power may be able to lock our bodies in, but never our conscience and faith. I don't want to be let out prior to the release of all the conscientious offenders thrown into prison under power's violent rule.

We should leave no stain on our names, foreseeing that this trial will be judged by the future historians. We must take care that there should not happen such a case that our posterity would question

us what trial brought such a disgrace upon us and we would answer that we faced the trial with our conscience left at home, as the proverb says: "The rabbit visited the Dragon's Palace, leaving her liver behind."

This Is the Doing of Political Power of This Country

MUN JONG HYON

I reject this trial. I know that to expect the formation of a new court under the Revitalization system is as foolish as to try to catch stars in the sky. So, I would like to tell what I have not been able to do so far.

The church preaches, "A priest is responsible for all, for the poor and the weak in particular. Jesus Christ personally identified himself with these people." It also explains, "To bring glad news to these people is a manifestation of the Messianic exploits of Jesus Christ." Since July 6, 1974 (the day of Bishop Chi Hak Sun's arrest), I have come to know how difficult it is to carry these words into effect. I had a sort of confidence in myself in regard to the police and KCIA examinations. I thought to myself: I'm single without wife and children and so I could submit myself to the evil. But my body was in a tremble. When I was asked to wash my face, a fear came down upon me that I might be put to water torture.

Nevertheless, I have challenged the present government. It was an unavoidable challenge to the immoral and unethical practices. The prosecution argues that availing ourselves of our influential

positions as fathers and pastors, we have insisted that the cases of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students and the People's Revolutionary Party were a mere concoction and that we ourselves committed a rash act while claiming that it was patriotic and constitutional. However, the government held the court in camera. Everyone had a doubt about it. We heard the mysterious circumstances of the trial from the defendants' families who had observed it. So we demanded the trial be open to the public. Ignoring our demand, the government kept up an adamant attitude, alleging that the case of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students was a communist-inspired case in which Bishop Chi Hak Sun was also involved. I protested against it and was hauled off several times. My protest proved ineffective, and I held a prayer meeting. I strongly urged that the churches should not become a tool of dictatorship even if the police encircled them. Due to these cries and protests, I think, those implicated in the case of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students were given suspension of a sentence. How did the power handle those students released from prison? Let me take for instance Mr. Choe from Yonse University who has been again thrown into the Seoul Prison. The KCIA agents took him out for a sightseeing tour and escorted him to Cholla Province. He was treated with liquor in the daytime and entertained with a girl in his hotel room in the night. This is the doing of the political power of this country. We protested. But the power elite remained deaf to it.

Pak Jung Hi and His Ilk Cannot Last Long

YUN BAN UNG

This court is too ignorant of Christianity. Its knowledge of it is poorer than that of Japan's secret service police during Japanese imperialist rule. Pastor is God's servant who works at his call. It is just like Pak Jung Hi calling judges up for his service. Putting up the Revitalization Constitution as the only law, this court condemns all the rest. But witnesses are made to swear to give testimonies upon their conscience. Isn't conscience the spirit of testifying facts? Nonetheless, if one tries to give testimony with a good conscience this court suppresses it. In this court testimony in plain words is equated with distortion of facts.

Service rendered at the call of God is the work for the restoration of human rights. It is because the human rights given by God are languishing under violent rule. Without human rights, man will turn either an animal or a madman. Hence, man should be liberated from such a situation. This is theology of liberation. Preaching is basically of critical nature. I call Pak Jung Hi with the prefix Mr. For this I have been hauled off time and again on the charge of debasing the President's dignity. I have been critical since the very day when Mr. Pak Jung Hi and his ilk usurped the political power at the point of bayonets. "Mister" is the highest title of honour I can prefix to the name of the man who has thrown conscientious people into prison and is dubbing the pastors as international Commu-

nists. It is from this standpoint that during my sermon I commented on the present situation, mentioning that resignation of Mr. Pak Jung Hi and his clique would serve the interests of this nation.

Prior to my arrest, my three-year-old granddaughter was kidnapped. I took a bus in search of the missing child, when a man whispered to me, "I tell you, as a man who knows you well, that the abduction of the child has political implications," before he went away. This fact must be verified even if I were released five years hence.

I used to attend the Thursday prayer meeting, but whenever I was asked to preach a sermon, I always was withheld at the door of my house by six or seven detectives. Even if I barely managed to slip out through the backdoor and get to the venue of meeting, I was taken back to my house. And KCIA agents were always keeping a sharp watch over my house at the greengrocery just round the corner. Should I become a "dumb dog" so that I cannot speak against the reality? My church was a small one with a membership of 100 or so. Until three years ago, it had been a peaceful church. With my attendance in the Thursday prayer meeting began the walking off and intimidation of the church leaders. At present my church has only some 40 members, as pointed out in the written accusation. Such being the state of things, you, the public procurators, claim that the government of this country is not only giving the freedom of belief, but also assisting the churches.

Is it the duty of a public procurator to impose crimes on people rather than disclosing crimes? You, the public procurators, urge us to finish off our final statements quickly for lack of time, but haven't you yourselves entered the courtroom 40 minutes late, though more than 200 persons have

been waiting here? Are you men with no common sense? I should like to speak to you, the judge, too. Mr. Pak Jung Hi and his party cannot last long. When the day begins to break, even the thief ceases to steal. A villainy goes with a villain. Such a person as Pak Dong Son having been sent to the US, south Koreans there cannot walk with their heads held up, can they? Are you going to impose a crime on me for having criticized that gang of villains?

“Revitalization System” Is for Pak Jung Hi’s Long-term Office

KIM DAE JUNG

I extend my heartfelt thanks to patriotic compatriots for their material and moral support, to the world’s democratic friends for their support and to the world churches for their invocatory support. It is thanks to the nation’s support and world public opinion that I, though placed under restraint, can speak this much. I have no words to thank you enough. The defence counsel asserted our innocence, but, in view of the present situation of this country, it may be an exacting demand for the bench. Who on earth can act in defiance of the intention of the President of the present government? I am referring to the courts of this country in general from the experience I’ve gained in the trial of my election law violation case. So I take little interest in the adjudication of the bench. Rather I have followed with much interest the course of the trial. Under conditions given today, the bench, I think, has made a considerable effort. The bench refused the adoption

of witnesses and did not even once demand the prosecution to answer the defendants' request for presentation of evidence and discovery of truth. I was not quite satisfied with that. So I came to have an impression that an outside force was working to prevent this trial from being conducted fairly. However, in this second hearing the counsel's argument and defendant's final statement have been permitted. Though the conduct of you, the judges, leaves much to be desired, but, considering that it has taken into account the defendants' case, too, I express my thanks to you for your trouble.

As for you, the counsels, I cannot thank you too much. You have shown such an enthusiasm as is far beyond our expectation and made an excellent defence. I am much pleased to know that there exists such a righteous spirit in the judicial world, let alone the trial itself. Hearers who have attended without a day's absence! You have not remained mere observers but have joined in the common struggle. I can't find proper words to express my gratitude.

I would like to express my thanks to you, the home and foreign reporters, too. When I thought of you, the home reporters, who cannot see themselves in print, my heart ached. You are as good as the soldiers sent to the front with useless rifles on their shoulders. We rather felt pain in consideration of your circumstances in which you were unable to write than having rancour against you for your failure to write for us. My thanks also go to the clerk and sergeant of this court and the governor and instructors of the prison. This is Saturday. But we have kept you till late at night. We are obliged to you for your trouble. The public procurators have patiently listened to us, though at variance with us. We are sorry for the trouble they have had.

This is a country where the prosecution is not allowed to maintain independence but subjected to the power. So you may have no choice but to do so.

My very experience and conscience have brought me where I ought to come. I still suffer from illness. These days, too, I would wake up three or four times at night and take medicine. My heart, however, is full of the joy of being relieved from a burden. If I could not have taken part in making the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation, if I stood here unrestrained, how much would I feel painful, seeing that you, unrestrained gentlemen, putting on an apologetic countenance for all that you are not to blame? I am deeply grateful for my imprisonment. I believe that we have already won victory, no matter what will be the result of the trial. It has been proved by the fact that the people have grown up in the ordeal, and also by the matters that stand in this courtroom. The prosecution accuses us of instigating a rebellion. Then, present evidence! We want to talk about the truth, but you do not accede to it at all. The declaration says that the freedom of speech has been suppressed. Why can't you tell it has been suppressed or partially restricted? You only reiterate, "It's a fact patent to all." You are not unwilling to tell but in a position not to tell. Herein lies our victory. You, public procurators, brand us as non-productive without making any opposing argument. Here I am going to mention as to what I think of national administration, the difficult situation of today and the present government.

In a word, the present Revitalization system is neither for unification nor for "security" or "anti-communism"; it is for the long-term office of Pak Jung Hi himself. The "Revitalization Constitution" is only intended for it and is framed entirely for that end. This is as clear as day. Under this system,

democracy, human rights and freedom cannot be guaranteed. Democracy and the Revitalization system are incompatible with each other as fire and water are. Even if the exports amounted to 10,000 or 100,000 million dollars, the situation in which "the rich get ever richer, the poor get ever poorer" will not be remedied. Disproportion that some branches develop at the expense of others will become only worsened. Balanced social and economic development is impossible under dictatorship.

On the social line, there can be no freedom of conscience, freedom of religion and freedom of campus under the Revitalization system. There can be no social justice that enables honest, diligent and conscientious persons to make a success in life. For there cannot be a government for all people under a system that demands allegiance to one man placed in the centre. There can be no security, either. Our nation had been subjected to foreign aggression during its long history, but it never ceased to exist but retained the mode of living, language and culture of a homogeneous nation. This would be quite unthinkable for a nation without potentiality. The case of Tonghak affords an instance. A great man-respecting principle of democracy founded on the maxim "Man means Heaven" came from the brain of a ruined noble in the country near Kyongju. The leader of the Tonghak revolution, Chon Bong Jun, was none other than a teacher of a private school. But, as a result of this revolution, democratic practices such as emancipation of slaves, remarriage of widows and agrarian reform came into being. This must be called a wonder. We may well be proud of it before world history. Its spirit was inherited by the movement of the Association for Independence, March 1st Movement, the Kwangju Students' Anti-Japanese Movement and the April

19 Students' Revolution. I am convinced that two great national tasks—the restoration of democracy and peaceful unification—will be attained only when that spirit is upheld. They can be accomplished only on the basis of democratic principle, and democracy is the sole basis for national concurrence.

The present regime has held three presidential elections and four elections to the National Assembly since the May 16 coup. All these elections have been unfair ones conducted by government authority. In spite of this, every time over 40 per cent of the vote went to candidates from non-government parties. And the electors scarcely voted for anyone other than those from the two big parties. This showed the possibility of stabilized democracy. The dictator poked his nose into the democracy of the people, but there has never been an instance of the people showing their lack of ability for democracy. Unification will surely be won.

Let me address some requests to the present government.

Abolish the Revitalization system for long-term office of one person which constitutes the root cause of all maladies. A new National Assembly and Administration should, at least, be organized on the basis of the restoration of the Constitution to the state previous to its revision by the present regime for a third-term presidential election. This does not mean the transfer of power to the Opposition. Able ministerialists may take over the power. The very long-term rule by one man is greatly harmful. A national referendum is welcome if the government disagrees to our views that the Revitalization system is the cause of all maladies, and thinks the people give their wholehearted support to this system as alleged by the prosecution. Of course, this national referendum must not be a sham one as hitherto; it must

be one which enables the voters to express their approval or disapproval in an atmosphere of complete political freedom. Voting and ballot counting must be observed on a fair basis. If we are beaten none the less, we will have nothing to complain.

Immediate rescission of Emergency Decrees is a matter of pressing necessity. The people's basic freedom should be restored as early as possible, and the present unnecessary antagonism and waste of energy be removed. And democratic, political offenders arrested on various charges must be released. All the expelled professors, students and reporters must be reinstated in their former positions. The KCIA, the headquarters of the infringers of human rights must be disbanded. The US army radio is said to have reported that the former director of the KCIA had sought refuge in the US 8th Army Command in south Korea. It is a pitiable thing that a person of power elite could behave like that. The KCIA is no longer beneficial even to the present government.

Even the north Korean radio carries on propaganda against Gulf Oil scandal and the Pak Dong Son affair. Why aren't our people informed of what has become known even to the Communists? Make public all the overseas scandals and locate the responsibility! How long on earth is the government going to deceive the people and prevent them from hearing and seeing? This might be conducive to security of the Pak regime, but never security of the country.

We don't have any hatred or revengeful thought against the present government. If the government is prepared to consult with us for the solution of many problems, we will give our frank opinion on what is needed for the country, what is to be done to win back the confidence of the people and on which is the right way for security, and we will hear

its opinions. There should not be such a thing that one who is in power perpetrates suppression and that one who takes over power makes a reprisal. We are not waging a bloody war, but having a political game for gaining and handing over power. We are always ready for dialogue and always prepared for consultation. This is the thought of us all.

I am not interested in the judgement. I am sorry to say that as far as this question is concerned, I don't take the public procurators into account. I hate no one. Every day I pray for the restoration of democracy, for the liberation of the oppressed and for the churches that the present rulers including Pak Jung Hi may rectify the present system on the basis of democracy, conscience and justice. We have criticized the government until now, but I think we people including me should share the responsibility with the government. If we had been wiser, and awakened to our rights and responsibility as masters and if we had insisted on what we thought and put it into practice, how could there have been dictatorship?

Whenever I offer a prayer, I pray that the people may be awakened to the rights and duty as the master of power and establish democracy by themselves, lest there should be another military coup or such a bloodshed as at the time of the April 19 Revolution.

I pray that many churches which are not yet awakened and those churches which, to cite an extreme case, are cooperating with dictatorship may be awakened by God's providence and stand in the van of the people.

Lastly I make an oath that I will dedicate my whole life to the oppressed and maltreated people upon my conscience and the instructions of God I believe in. Political freedom, economic equality and

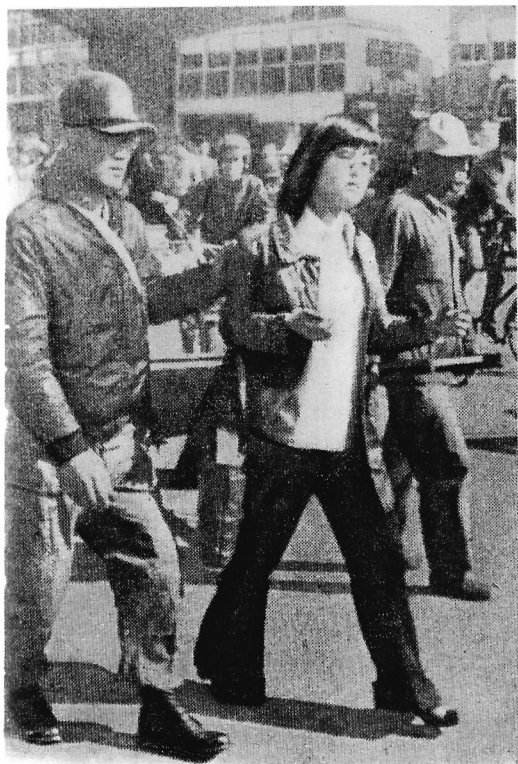
social justice are my basic faith. My two sons are present here as spectators. I do not want to be a father of whom they are ashamed. I do not want to make myself a forefather who will be blamed by our descendants. Therefore, I am ready to dedicate my life.

I am quite aware that the present government has not only detained me, but intended to take my life. Still now I don't think that that intention has been abandoned. They can kill me at any time. But, whatever they may do against me, my allegiance to the nation and my sense of responsibility for our posterity is unalterable. Nothing can shake my resolution to remain true to God and conscience. My resolution is already past change. In 1971 when I became a weak presidential candidate, 46 per cent of the electorate, that is, 5.4 million people, in spite of so difficult a situation, voted for me to make me shoulder the cross of democracy. I cannot go back on the 5.4 million people. I prefer death to treachery. I am not at liberty to evade it without sacrificing my life.

I prayed that I may live long for the nation, not for an easy life with my family. God heard my promise and saved me from death. How can I betray his trust? I am obliged to do my best to consecrate my whole life to the fulfilment of my responsibility to the nation and to God, to the democratic restoration of this country and to the democratic, peaceful unification. I am bound to live that way to the last moment of my life.

In this sense, I will never be influenced by anything, no matter how the judgment will turn out and what the present government is going to do with me, even though I take an interest in it. I am well aware that the court of this country is unable to acquit or convict us.

I will only fulfil my promise and duty to the people and God, whatever judgment will be passed. Ladies and gentlemen present here! All the people outside this courtroom! Allow me to finish my final statement by appealing to you from the bottom of my heart, grasping your hands one by one in my mind, to rise above our individual standpoints and build a society on justice in which there are the political freedom guaranteeing the civil rights, a new economic order ensuring equal economic conditions, an opportunity for honest, diligent and conscientious people to get on in life, and the freedom of conscience, learning and belief.



Pak Jung Hi fascist bandits arrest girl students at random merely because they have demanded the "abolition of the Revitalization Constitution" and the freedom of campus

South Korean puppet armymen are picketed around Yonse University, and children stare at them from the street

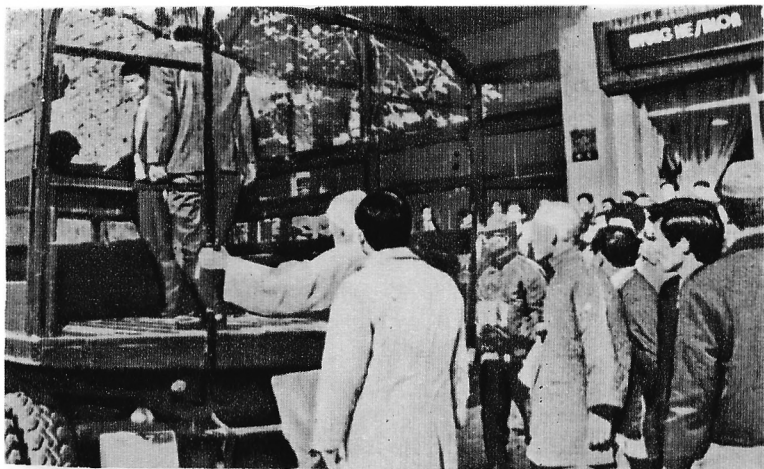




Students of the College of Liberal Arts and Science of Seoul University fight against the puppet police who have illegally intruded into the campus

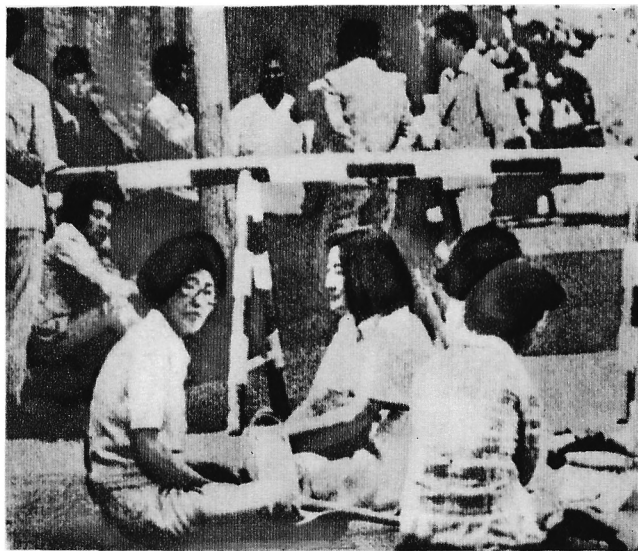
Students who fought for democracy against fascism are taken to court





The puppet police round up those who issued the "Situational Declaration"

Families of the detained wage a sit-in struggle in demand of the release of the imprisoned democrats and young students





Young Koreans in Japan demonstrate, demanding the "immediate resignation of the Pak regime"



Korean compatriots in America parade against Pak Jung Hi, carrying placards reading: "Abolish the Revitalization Constitution!" "For the reunification of the fatherland"

Korean compatriots in West Germany demonstrate, shouting: "Down with the Pak dictatorial regime!"





People of various circles in Japan stage an anti-Pak demonstration, demanding the release of the imprisoned democratic people in south Korea

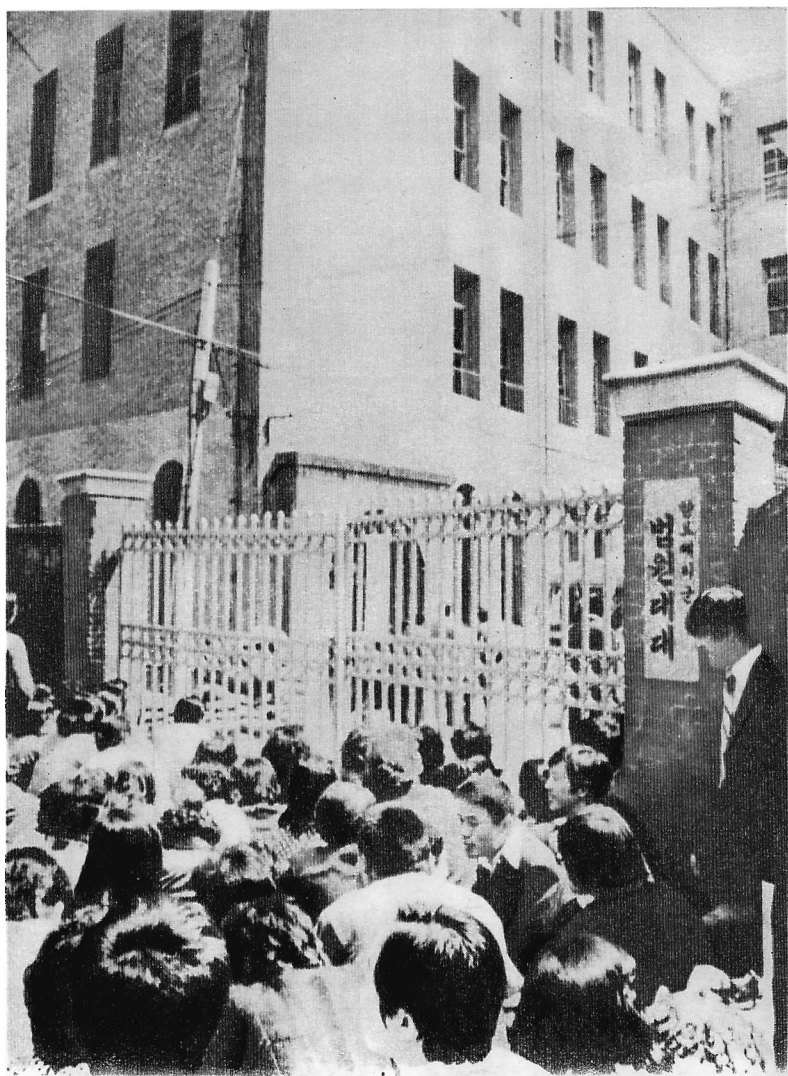


Americans shout: "Release the democratic personages and political prisoners in south Korea!" "Stop torture and punishment!" "The United States, hands off south Korea!"



Norwegians and Koreans in Norway parade, shouting: "Down with the military regime in south Korea!"





**Struggle will continue till an end
is put to the misrule**

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